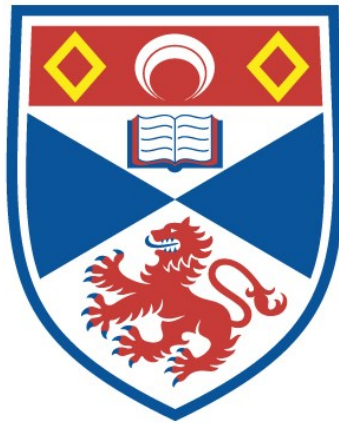


**JOHN BATE CARDALE, PILLAR OF APOSTLES :
A QUEST FOR CATHOLICITY**

John Lancaster

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of BPhil
at the
University of St Andrews**



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by

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A thesis submitted to fulfil the requirements
for the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy in
the University of St. Andrews



ABSTRACT

John Bate Cardale (1802-1877) is the forgotten man of the Catholic Apostolic Church. Edward Irving and Henry Drummond who were both influential in the pre-history and early days of the church received historical and biographical treatment long ago. Cardale, whose influence was more decisive and longer lived than that of his two colleagues has until now been ignored. His life and works show his personal participation in the quest for catholicity which was taking place in all churches during the nineteenth century, a participation which was reflected in the theology, worship and organization of the Catholic Apostolic Church. The essentially hidden quality of Cardale's life together with the Catholic Apostolic rule of secrecy in regard to historic documents mean that insights into his life must be gained from the little material in the hands of descendants and from secondary sources.

The Catholic Apostolic *Liturgy* together with its two volume theological commentary, *Readings upon the Liturgy*, are Cardale's chief literary monuments. His lesser works generally serve to illuminate minor themes not treated in the *Readings* while his homiletic material is principally devotional in character. Theologically Cardale is an inheritor of the patristic and western catholic tradition. He follows his mentor Irving in his understanding of the Incarnation but breaks new ground in his doctrine of the Church and its ministry by his unique exegesis of Ephesians

4:11-13. Cardale's approach to the dominical sacraments is motivated by concern for theological truth and pastoral nurture. The services Cardale compiled and revised in the *Liturgy* seek to be based on theological principle, to meet pastoral, psychological and devotional need and to draw from the liturgical riches of ancient, Orthodox and western catholic traditions.

Cardale's gift of leadership, his theological precision and his liturgical creativity, the personal expressions of authority, tradition and comprehensiveness, reacted to produce the most significant figure in the life of the Catholic Apostolic Church and an important one on the sidelines of nineteenth-century ecclesiastical history in England.

STATEMENT OF CANDIDACY AND RESEARCH

At the meeting of the Council of the Faculty of Divinity held on 26 January 1977 I was admitted under Ordinance 350 (General No. 12) and Resolution of the University Court, 1970, No. 3 as a full time candidate for the degree of B.Phil., with retrospective effect to the date of my admission as a research student, 1 October 1976.

The research for this thesis was carried out primarily at the University of St. Andrews although obtaining some specialized material involved work at the British Library, the National Library of Scotland and the Library of New College, Edinburgh.

Candidate

SUPERVISOR'S STATEMENT

I certify that the conditions of Resolution of the University Court, 1970, No. 3 and the Regulations dependent on it have been fulfilled by John Lancaster, the author of this thesis.

Supervisor

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis, *John Bate Cardale, Pillar of Apostles: A Quest for Catholicity*, has been composed by me, that the work of which it is a record has been done by me, and that it has not been accepted in any previous application for a higher degree in the University of St. Andrews or elsewhere.

Candidate

In honour of

The Blessed Virgin Mary

Mother of our Lord

Type of the Church

Queen of the Clergy

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks are due first to the Dean, Churchwardens and parishioners of Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria, British Columbia for making this sabbatical year possible by their encouragement, administrative arrangements and kind financial assistance. In addition I am grateful for the financial support I have received from the H. R. Macmillan Committee of the Vancouver School of Theology, the Bursary Unit of the General Synod of the Anglican Church of Canada and the Diocese of British Columbia.

The late Denis A. Godson of the Provincial Archives, Victoria, British Columbia first introduced me to the smaller churches and throughout a long and valued friendship continued to stimulate the interest he had initiated.

Dr. Sheridan W. Gilley, my supervisor, has epitomized the academic hospitality of St. Mary's College in the University of St. Andrews and his guidance and tactful suggestions have wrought many improvements in this thesis.

Having combed and otherwise used the facilities of several libraries in the course of my research, I would like to give special acknowledgement to Mr. J. V. Howard, Librarian of New College, Edinburgh, who placed much rare material at my disposal and to Mr. Norman C. Priddle, the Catholic Apostolic Librarian, who supplied me with copies of scarce items as well as other valuable information.

Among Cardale's descendants who so kindly responded to my inquiries and generously shared what family history they knew, Mr. J. C. L. Sweet has been particularly patient with

my repeated requests for information and prodigal in what he has made available.

Most deserving my gratitude, however, are my wife Miriam and our daughter Jordan. The extent of their contribution to the fruition of my sabbatical year is inestimable and my pen incapable of framing any adequate expression of thanks.

Finally, I must thank John Bate Cardale, his fellow Apostles, their followers and spiritual descendants for bringing together strands of history, liturgy and sociology which have long interested me. Without their unknowing contribution, this thesis would never have been written.

18 July 1977

Centenary of the death of John Bate Cardale

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INTRODUCTION

The last celebration of the Holy Eucharist in the Catholic Apostolic Church took place on Christmas Day 1970 when Dr. L. Davison, the last active priest, celebrated in the Paddington Church.¹ His death the following year brought an end to the sacramental ministry of the Church which had begun when John Bate Cardale was called to the restored Apostolate by the voice of prophecy one hundred and thirty-nine years before. This new Apostolate was formally set apart in 1835 and endured until 1901 when the last Apostle died. Thus, the Catholic Apostolic Church, as the followers of these Apostles came to be called, is a Victorian phenomenon, its fully active life almost exactly corresponding to the reign of Queen Victoria. The herald of the movement, Edward Irving the great Scottish preacher, and its principal financial backer, Henry Drummond the banker and parliamentarian, have been adequately studied, but Cardale, whose influence over the movement in its formative and most fruitful years was normative, is virtually ignored. Irving and Drummond are both represented by portraits in national collections while even photographs of Cardale are scarce. Irving's nephew, the Rev. G. Carlyle, and Drummond's son-in-law, Lord Lovaine, both published collections of their respective relatives' writings but no similar memorial appeared

¹ Kenneth W. Stevenson, *The Catholic Apostolic Eucharist*, (Southampton University Ph.D. thesis, 1975), pp. 61 and 32.

after Cardale's death. The Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts and the British Museum have catalogued manuscript materials from the pens of Irving and Drummond but Cardale is unrepresented. The *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* devotes space to articles on the Catholic Apostolic Church and on Irving and Drummond, noting their importance in the original formation of the group, but Cardale - whose influence was also present from the beginning and became central in the life of the church - is completely ignored. Irving has attracted a fair amount of interest by writers since his death. His biography by Margaret Oliphant appeared in 1864 and in 1955 H. L. Whitley produced *Blinded Eagle*, a study of Irving's life and influence. *Edward Irving and his Circle* by A. L. Drummond and *The Pentecostal Theology of Edward Irving* by Gordon Strachan, published in recent years, are more specialized works.

There has always been a steady although specialized interest in the Catholic Apostolic Church. With the passage of time the successive studies become more and more sympathetic. E. B. Pusey's series of ten articles in *The Old Church Porch* in 1854 can only be called an attack. Edward Miller's two volume work written in 1878, *The history and doctrines of Irvingism*, also written from a Tractarian point of view, recognized the good features of the group and its members but is hostile in its conclusions. As Miller's volumes are the standard nineteenth-century study, the American Presbyterian P. E. Shaw's *The Catholic Apostolic*

Church (in its first form a Ph.D. thesis at the University of Edinburgh) is the standard twentieth-century work, taking notice of the overseas expansion of the church and developments since the death of the last Apostle in 1901. Rowland A. Davenport's *Albury Apostles* which appeared in 1970 is written by an obviously sympathetic Anglican clergyman. It suffers from a lack of scholarly apparatus and from the twenty-year lapse between writing and publishing but does bring Shaw's study up to date. In all these volumes the work and influence of Cardale are mentioned but only as ancillary to the main subject, the Catholic Apostolic Church.

Catholic Apostolic worship has always been of interest; the Liturgy of the church is perhaps the aspect of its life best known to those outside its fellowship: journalistic observers during the past century from C. M. Davies' account of a Catholic Apostolic Eucharist in *Unorthodox London*, published in 1873, to Peter Anson who published his *Fashions in Church Furnishings 1840-1940* in 1960 have commented favourably on its solemnity and rich symbolism while recent scholarly writers like Horton Davies and David Tripp have made initial analyses of the Liturgy and Offices of the church. Dr. Kenneth W. Stevenson with his 1975 Southampton University Ph.D. thesis, *The Catholic Apostolic Eucharist*, has produced a definitive work on the main liturgical service of the church. It does not, however, deal with Cardale as an individual; its focus is entirely on the eucharistic liturgy which he produced. The aim of this present thesis is more general. It seeks to set Cardale's life and works into the

wider context of his time and to see both as a function of Cardale's desire for the unity of Christians, a unity which would only be achieved when the Church manifests true catholicity.

As a corporate body the Catholic Apostolic Church presents the historian with a considerable obstacle - secrecy. Chapter Two of this work outlines the rules governing the custody of correspondence, records and documents. These provisions have proved extremely effective in keeping much valuable archival material inaccessible. Even governments release secret documents after the passage of time but this is something the Catholic Apostolic Trustees are unlikely to do. A recent request for a copy of the book of *Regulations* was politely denied as this book "was intended only for Ministers of the Church."² Fortunately the cooperation of a sympathetic scholar allowed access to the book, whose contents are not worthy of the secrecy with which they are protected. Correspondence with the Catholic Apostolic Librarian confirms the position of the Trustees: they will not open their archives to their own members, much less to curious outsiders.³ Certain publications not in the British Library or other institutions are however available through the good offices of the Librarian.

2 Letter of D. P. S. Nye, Secretary to Trustees, Catholic Apostolic Church Property Trust, to John Lancaster, 23 December 1976.

3 Letter of N. C. Priddle to John Lancaster, 10 February 1977.

This secrecy of the Catholic Apostolic Church is a reflection of its earnest expectation of the Second Coming, and its consequent lack of interest in any necessity for disseminating historical material also affected Cardale's family to the third and fourth generation. His great-grandson, the Reverend C. A. Cardale of Staverton, South Devon, has a few of the vestments John Bate wore in the Apostles' Chapel at Albury but very little else, and remarked in relating family matters known to him that "At one time I do know we were all supposed to keep any information to ourselves - so you may find it difficult on that account."⁴ Even the most likely of Cardale's many other descendants (one correspondent, another great-grandson and like his cousin also an Anglican priest, mentions that his father claimed no less than 97 first cousins!)⁵ who have been contacted have virtually no personalia or family memoirs. In families where information is suppressed it is very quickly lost. Without the ready cooperation of a number of family members who now feel free to share what information they have, parts of this thesis could not have been written. Pride in the work of their "illustrious forbearer"⁶ who until now has been treated only in passing by historians is probably a strong motive for releasing information.

⁴ Letter of the Rev. C. A. Cardale to John Lancaster, 10 March 1977.

⁵ Letter of the Rev. A. M. Cardale to John Lancaster, 7 March 1977.

⁶ Letter of Dorothy M. Heighan to John Lancaster, 13 April 1977.

This thesis seeks to give Cardale the historical assessment which his principal colleagues, Irving and Drummond, received long ago. It begins by examining the search of catholicity in the ecclesiastical, scientific and philosophical worlds of Cardale's day, seeing the Catholic Apostolic Church as a participant in the quest for the definition of authority, the relevance of tradition and the desire for comprehensiveness which characterize true catholicity. In Chapter Two Cardale's life and the history of the Catholic Apostolic Church are outlined, and his central role in the life of the church and its carefully regulated authority structures are described. Chapters Three and Four deal with *Readings upon the Liturgy* and Cardale's minor works, and show him in the mainstream of conservative Christian theological tradition, while the final chapter on the Liturgy and other services of the Catholic Apostolic Church shows the worship of the group as a monument of liturgical comprehensiveness, full scale pastoral concern for the whole life of the whole man and considerable independence and originality in handling sources. As he was the leader, principal theologian and chief liturgist of the Catholic Apostolic Church, the notes of authority, tradition and comprehensiveness manifested in the life and worship of the movement are rightly interpreted as reflections of Cardale's own quest for catholicity which are evident in his personal theological writings.

CHAPTER ONETHE QUEST FOR CATHOLICITY

The quest for catholicity was a part of the religious life of Victorian times. To a greater or lesser degree all religious and intellectual groups took part in it, although not all in the same way. Of the four notes of the Church, catholicity was the one which expressed and summed up the religious aspirations of churches and their members. It was the fulness of unity, the road to holiness and the fruit of apostolicity among Christians whose interpretation of these terms might differ widely, and was the vital force behind the new wave of free thought which flourished during this period.

Catholicity consists principally in three things: authority, tradition and comprehensiveness. These three are given different weight by different groups but in some degree or other are manifested in the life of the various sectors of the ecclesiastical community in England during the Victorian era. John Bate Cardale, in discussing the Nicene Creed, gives his personal definition of Catholicity:

We believe the Church to be Catholic. 1st. Because, whosoever is a child of God and a member of Christ, and one in whom is the Life of Christ, him, wherever he may be, the Church owns and embraces with maternal love. The Church is Catholic, for it comprehends all baptized men, and all congregations or particular churches into which they are gathered or collected. 2nd. It is Catholic, because it is God's gift to all His creatures, never to be recalled. There is but one Church, and the mission

given to that Church extends to the whole world ... And as the mission of the Church is unto all, so it contains every remedy for every possible evil, and every blessing which can be enjoyed. It is Catholic because it is One; and being One, it embraces all. It gathers into itself all the elect of God; it contains and interprets all truth; it is the very temple wherein the Holy Ghost dwells; the fulness of God; and it imparts from that fulness to all creatures ... 1

The three elements - authority, tradition, and comprehensiveness - are all present in this definition written in 1848, early in Cardale's literary life and at the beginning of the golden age of the Catholic Apostolic Church. How they permeated Cardale's attitudes and writing we shall see but before doing so we will look at the quest for catholicity as it appeared on the restless spiritual landscape of nineteenth-century Britain.

The Church of England

There was in the Church of England an undercurrent of tension, albeit creative, arising from the beginnings of transition of pastoral leadership from the old Evangelicals, represented by such divines as Charles Simeon and John Berridge, to the new High Churchmen of whom Keble, Newman and Pusey are best known. The catholicism of the Evangelicals stressed the comprehensiveness of the Church, while that of the High Churchmen emphasized authority and tradition. From 1838 these tensions were to break out into a

1 John Bate Cardale, *Readings upon the Liturgy*, (London, Pitman, 1878, 1898), vol. I, pp. 115-116.

series of most unedifying church party rows, expressions of the search for a revival of the traditional element in the Church's catholicity; but in the earlier half of the century the controversy was more politically involved. They involved definition of the relationship of church and state and an understanding of the authority unique to each. Thus they were attempts to redefine another element of the catholicity of England's Established Church.

It was Parliament that raised the issue by passing, between the years 1828 and 1833, the repeal of the Test Act, the Emancipation Act and the Reform Bill. Their passage and that of two subsequent Reform Bills signified that the Elizabethan ideal of a national church was finally acknowledged to be impossible, that non-Anglicans (and ultimately non-believers) might sit in the Parliament which governed the Church of England and that the opportunities for non-conformists to enter Parliament were enlarged by the extension of the franchise to the largely industrial non-conformist population. These democratic changes were vigorously resisted by Tory bishops who drew no love for themselves or for the church they led thereby.

Lord Melbourne, the moderate Whig Prime Minister, wanted to prefer Whig clergymen but there were few of them in Oxford where the Tories were in the ascendant. Of the few available, Dr. Hampden stood out prominently, although his political qualifications were not in the least rivalled by his ugly demeanour, dull manner and harsh voice. When the

Regius Professorship of Divinity at Oxford became vacant in 1836, Melbourne ignored the suggestions of the Archbishop of Canterbury (which included Pusey, Newman and Keble) and secured the King's approval of Hampden instead. Although Hampden delivered a quietly orthodox inaugural lecture, his opponents were not placated and a fearful storm of protest broke. Pusey declared publicly that Hampden was guilty of systematically teaching rationalism, Bishop Phillpots of Exeter dispensed his ordinands from attending Hampden's lectures and the Oxford Convocation censured him 474 votes to 94. Although the ostensible object of this venom was Hampden, its real target was higher. It was a public declaration that the Prime Minister was not a fit person to choose leaders in the Church of England. Not only was the royal supremacy attacked, but Pusey and Newman became publicly suspect as purveyors of popery and bigotry where rationalism should reign free.

Hampden remained quietly at Oxford for a dozen years, still under censure, dictating inoffensive and dull lectures and book lists until new circumstances and a new Whig first minister, Lord John Russell, nominated Hampden to the see of Hereford. Immediately the old fears of Whigs as hereditary enemies of the church initiated the same processes as in Hampden's 1836 appointment but with a greater vehemence now that a see was at stake. Protest meetings of clergy and laity were held, petitions to the episcopate and the crown were circulated, fourteen bishops protested the nomination publicly, the episcopal election was delayed as long

as possible and almost half the electors did not attend, the legal confirmation of the election was reduced to bedlam, legal proceedings were instituted in the Court of Queen's Bench to compel the Archbishop to hear the objections to Hampden's consecration, but nothing availed.

Hampden was consecrated in Lambeth Palace Chapel on 26 March 1848 and retired almost immediately to his episcopal library for twenty years. "On the rare occasions when he emerged from his heaped folios he surprised everyone by a strong orthodoxy. Not a single liberal divine of the Victorian age derived even one idea from Dr. Hampden."²

The Gorham case involved the same issue as that of Hampden. Had a patron the right to present whomsoever he liked, without regarding objections? Where was the boundary between church authority and state authority and who should determine it? But the controversy went deeper because it involved doctrine. Gorham was not denied institution to his new living of Bramford Speke by Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter because he was morally unfit nor because he was unacceptable to his future parishioners but solely because the bishop set him 149 questions on the doctrine of baptismal regeneration and found his answers unsound. Gorham took the case to the Court of Arches and then on appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The Committee faced the most terrible problem.

² Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, (London, Black, 1966), pt. I, pp. 248-249.

Not only were they ill-equipped to determine doctrine (only three of their number were clergymen) but whichever way they decided they would open the door to defection by aggrieved Evangelicals or High Churchmen. In delivering judgement on 9 March 1850 Lord Langdale tried to make it clear that no doctrinal definition was being attempted, all the Committee had decided was that it was not satisfied that Gorham had contradicted the formularies of the Church of England. If the judgement saved the Evangelicals and Broad Churchmen for the Church of England, it marked the beginning of tragedy on the other side. Wave after wave of protest and repudiation of the right of the crown to hand down doctrinal decisions binding on the church swept across the country and, saddest of all, the numbers of those seceding to the Roman Church began to swell in terms of both quantity and quality, culminating in the departure of Henry Wilberforce, Manning and Robert Wilberforce.

Parallel to the turmoil caused by such occurrences as the appointment of Hampden and the ultimate institution of Gorham, another source of unsettlement in the Church of England could be perceived, this time emanating from Cambridge where in May 1839 John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb founded the Cambridge Camden Society (which became the Ecclesiological Society in 1846). Its aim was the study of ecclesiastical art and through the medium of its monthly periodical, *The Ecclesiologist*, which produced 189 numbers between November 1841 and December 1868,³ it soon

³ Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England*, (Princeton,

familiarized interested and enthusiastic clergy and laity with the whole range of pre-Reformation ritual and ceremonial in England. By stimulating an avid, informed and deepening interest in church architecture as providing the setting for worship, it stimulated liturgical and ceremonial revival among Anglicans. Unfortunately not all loyal sons of the church had an absorbing love of vestments, lights, incense, singing, reverences, reservation of the Host and the keeping of the Christian Year. They saw quite clearly that Catholic doctrine can most effectively be taught, especially to the unwary and ignorant, through Catholic ceremonial. As loyal Protestants they determined to stop these practices and the doctrines of the Real Presence and the Eucharistic Sacrifice which they implied and undergirded.

W. J. E. Bennett, the vicar of St. Paul's Knightsbridge, built a daughter church, St. Barnabas Pimlico, which included a rood screen, a stone altar, stained glass windows and mural paintings. Not only was the altar vested appropriately during the varying seasons of the year but it was fenced with proper rails, adorned with a cross and candlesticks and was revered with a bow. Choir and clergy wore surplices and sang the service and the celebrant at Holy Communion took the eastward position. Bennett was unfortunate enough to have his innovations coincide with the publication of Lord John Russell's *Letter to the Bishop of*

Durham which notes an alarming danger within the church: the disloyalty of clergymen who are assisting the spread of popery by their doctrinal teaching, the adornment of their churches and their devotional practices.

I have little hope that the propounders and framers of these innovations will desist from their insidious course. But I rely with confidence on the people of England, and I will not bate a jot of heart or hope so long as the glorious principles and the immortal martyrs of the Reformation shall be held in reverence by the great mass of a nation which looks with contempt on the mummeries of superstition, and with scorn at the laborious endeavours which are now making to confine the intellect and enslave the soul. 4

This widely circulated letter incited a national outcry against 'Papal Aggression' and set violent crowds onto 'Puseyite' priests. Two hundred hostile persons tried to force their way into St. Barnabas' on 17 November 1850⁵ and were only restrained by police intervention. Bennett persisted in his innovations but was finally brought to resign his living at the request of his bishop in 1851. Bennett's successor, Robert Liddell, made some minor changes but was presented to the Consistory Court by one of the churchwardens. He appealed to the Court of Arches and finally to the Judicial Committee; their conclusions were equivocal enough to comfort and distress both Evangelicals and ceremonialists: crosses and credences were permissible

⁴ Lord John Russell, *Letter to the Bishop of Durham*, (London, British Reformation Society, 1850), p. 12.

⁵ Davies, *Worship and Theology in England*, vol. IV, p. 119.

but stone altars were unlawful.

Charles Lowder, a former curate of St. Barnabas Pimlico, was a devoted slum priest at St. George's in the East and had to endure near riot conditions in his church when opponents incited local hooligans to disrupt the services. He escaped prosecution as Bishop Tait recognized the value of his work as outweighing his liturgical deviations. Not so fortunate was his former associate, Alexander Heriot Mackonochie, who in 1867 was the first victim of a prosecution initiated by the Church Association, a group founded in 1865 by disappointed Evangelicals to persecute ritualists in instances where they found bishops unwilling to proceed against devoted pastors. The case went on appeal to the Judicial Committee who upheld the Dean of Arches in condemning the elevation of the elements and the use of incense but who reversed his decision that kneeling before the elements (except to receive) was lawful, that the chalice might be mixed, if done before the service, and that two lighted candles were permissible on the communion-table.

Although persecutions continued, they ultimately failed in their purpose and petered out. What they did was to show up the inadequacy of seeking authoritative legal judgements on rubrical and ritual questions from an obviously confused and therefore incompetent secular court which almost consistently reversed the decision of lower ecclesiastical courts. Experience on the continent after the French Revolution had proved the inadequacy of reason as an authoritative guide. The Queen, filled as she was with liberal protestant

prejudice by Prince Albert, was not as Supreme Governor of the Church any source of authority; the Parliament by now open to Roman Catholics, Dissenters and Free Thinkers no longer had the religious cohesion which enabled it to superintend the church as far as Tractarians were concerned, although Evangelicals and Erastians were satisfied with its authority as a means of excluding ritualists and promoting a lowest common denominator protestantism. Now the courts were added to the list of institutions which had failed to provide a clearly recognized authority for the faithful parishioner on his spiritual pilgrimage. The voice of tradition had little general weight. Many to whom it spoke clearly entered the Roman Obedience where they could be faithful to tradition without continual harrassment.

During these years the Catholic Apostolic Church was facing problems of both organization and development. The right of the group to rule itself was established by its independence from the national Church; where the new seat of authority lay - with the Prophets, who represented the charismatic element in the Church, or with the Apostles, who represented the institutional element - was settled in 1840 by the Apostles in their own favour, but not without some defections from the ranks. Thenceforth there is no doubt that the Apostles, deriving their authority from God without the intervention of men, are the final court of appeal on doctrine and discipline. In retrospect, the exercise of their absolute authority appears to have been

cautious, tactful and pastorally sound as well as undoubtedly firm. Thus the Catholic Apostolic Church faced the same problem of authority as did the Church of England and at about the same time. Because of the nature of the Catholic Apostolic Church the problem, once clearly raised, was finally resolved. The Church of England, however, was faced with the recurring need to pursue the quest for a seat of authority.

The place of tradition, particularly in the worshipping life of the Church, was a principal source of controversy within the Church of England throughout the reign of Queen Victoria. While it is impossible to tell whether or not similar controversy took place in the secret councils of the Catholic Apostolic Church, it appears that an evolving liturgy, ceremonial, vestments, lights, incense, chrism and holy water were all introduced with a minimum of fuss. Even though not all members of the Church may have agitated for these things, when instituted they seem to have been received with appreciation.

The Roman Catholic Church

Although Cardinal Wiseman's heart and those of many Roman Catholic Englishmen may have exulted at the re-establishment of the Roman hierarchy in England as the fulfilment of the hopes which had been raised by the Emancipation Act in 1829, his return with metropolitical jurisdiction brought not peace but a sword. Wiseman's unwisely exuberant pastoral letter to his diocese provoked a violent

reaction which brought out into the open the old fears and hatred of Catholicism and Papalism latent in many British hearts. The popular mind was expressed succinctly by Lord John Russell in his *Letter*, and although it partly diverted the force of anti-papal feeling to Tractarians as traitors within, it provoked a lengthy and aggressive reply from Wiseman entitled *An appeal to the reason and good feeling of the English people on the subject of the Catholic hierarchy* which claimed toleration as a right, belaboured the Prime Minister for his incitement, mocked the royal supremacy and despised the impotence of the established church:

But if, in spite of all your present advantage, our religion does advance, does win over to it the learned, the devout, and the charitable, - does spread itself widely among the poor and simple, - then you will not check its progress by forbidding a Catholic Bishop to take the title of Hexham or Clifton.. 6

Although it brought an increase of inquirers, postulants and converts because of the light of publicity, the episode showed the Roman church too at odds with the government although from its battles it emerged less scarred than the Tractarians.

Internal relations were not what they should be either. Two kinds of devotion rivalled one another, Roman and English. Typical of the movement to romanize the English Roman Catholics was the convert Frederick Faber who headed the London Oratory from 1849. Totally uncompromising,

6 Nicholas Wiseman, *An Appeal to the reason and good feeling of the English people on the subject of the Catholic Hierarchy*, (London, Richardson, 1850), p. 18.

Faber believed that the time for conservatism had passed and that Catholics must boldly take up Roman ways if they were to convert England. Controverted doctrines like papal supremacy, indulgences and the Immaculate Conception must be proclaimed, popular devotions like the Sacred Heart, votive candles and holy water must be encouraged, ascetic practices like fasting, daily Mass and frequent confession must be encouraged, revivalist techniques like monastic habits, fervid sermons and processions must be prominent: "methods usual among Neapolitan peasants were found fertile among French villagers and Irish navvies and Belgian miners and London intellectuals."⁷

Compare this with the older and more sober English Roman Catholic devotion in the hands not of converts but of the successors to the tranquil priesthood of the days before the flood of Irish labourers and the stream of English converts. By ethos they were like chaplains to noblemen, by instinct men of the private chapel and library. Quiet, well read, unostentatious, soberly dressed in the lay fashion of the day, they were not easily identifiable as priests. When the black coat and clerical collar were prescribed for the London clergy, many demurred at first and when a statue was introduced into Prior Park, the Roman Catholic school near Bath, it had been removed with the sentence, "Let us have no Romanizing here."⁸, hardly

⁷ Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, pt. I, p. 283.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

a remark to delight Ultramontanes either in Britain or Rome.

Relations within the Church were also strained. As long as England was administered by vicars-apostolic, the Congregation of The Propaganda in Rome had the right of supervision which often turned out to be uncomprehending interference such as the decrees of 1838 which removed the religious orders from their jurisdiction.⁹ Only by upgrading England from its status as a mission and securing a hierarchy of bishops did English Roman Catholics believe that the yoke of The Propaganda could be removed. The inferior clergy too wanted the change for as missionaries they had no security of tenure nor any say in the choice of bishops. The lack of a constitution left both bishops and priests in turmoil until 1850 when Pius IX finally acted. When he did, the public satisfaction of the Roman clergy did not mirror accurately their inner dissatisfaction at the lack of a settled constitution and the virtual impossibility of security of tenure. The Propaganda still retained control. Even the new bishoprics were difficult to fill worthily and the powers of the chapters in their selection were minimal. Bishops were given power over existing charitable trusts in the hands of parish priests. The qualifications for independent parochial status were achieved in few places.

Rights of bishop versus rights of bishop,
 bishop versus religious orders, rights over
 old seminaries, cathedral chapter versus

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

bishop, priests versus bishop - so far as the hierarchy was expected to create government and therefore peace, it failed. The priests of England had to wait more than half a century before Propaganda released its hold and their status ceased to be missionary. 10

The Catholic Apostolic Church, while being definitely anti-Roman Catholic, shared with the Church of Rome expressions of catholic authority, tradition and comprehensiveness. The centralized authority of the Apostles and their virtual infallibility paralleled the position of the Roman Pontiff and under both was a carefully ordered hierarchical structure. In both Communion worship and devotion were ordered on lines governed by tradition rather than simple innovation. Both Churches saw their mission as one comprehending the whole world, although it must be admitted that the twelve-fold 'tribal' division of the globe by the Catholic Apostolics was an expression of missionary intention rather than actual activity in all corners of the globe as was discernible in the Roman Church.

Non-episcopal Churches

Within the ambivalent soul of John Wesley himself lay the tensions which flowed into the ruptures of early Victorian Methodism. Not wanting to separate from the Church of England, by his actions he led the inevitable way to separation in 1795 when each Local Society was permitted to have authorized persons celebrate the Sacrament. Some

10 *Ibid.*, p. 309.

Methodists believed that they would lose influence if they identified with dissent and were friends of the established church while others, recognizing an authentic gospel ministry in Methodism, treated the established church like dissenters. Even in their Liturgy the tension was apparent; "in London many collects and some extempore prayer, in the provinces much extempore prayer and a few collects."¹¹

The Conference was the Methodist governing body and it was controlled by the senior ministers. Local congregations which raised the funds were under lay control, leading to inevitable collisions between the bodies when the higher over-ruled the lower. Designed to provide strong direction to the expansion of Methodism, the constitution in fact only led to grumbling and discontent. The clerical central government pressed the authority of itinerant ministers, the lay-dominated local congregations wished to diminish their authority. 'High' Methodists agitated for laying on of hands in ordination so that preachers might be seen as commissioned by the authority of God. This obtained the approval of Conference in 1836. After an uproar in Hull and Manchester, congregations where ministers wore gown and bands in the pulpit, Conference of 1841 required leave of Conference for the wearing of such garb and, finding this not to placate anti-ceremonialists, in 1842 forbade gowns, cassocks, bands and surplices absolutely.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 370 - quoting Jackson, *Life of Robert Newton*, pp. 75-76.

The central authority of the Conference was expressed in the actions of its permanent executive which became after 1814 embodied in the person of Jabez Bunting. In 1834 his assumption of direction of the new Methodist preachers' training school roused his detractors to action. A pamphlet war began as well as a series of disgraceful scenes in chapels of the Manchester circuit where Samuel Warren, Bunting's chief opponent, was superintendent. Warren's party's demands for secret ballot at Conference, lay control of finances, local ratification of Conference legislation and closing of the un-Methodistical training college earned him the loss of his superintendency. Going to law to secure his reinstatement, Warren was disappointed for the court held that the Conference had the right to govern the denomination. The next problem faced by the leaders of the Connection was the effect of the shift from temperance to teetotalism. Zealous local congregations, particularly in the south-west, began to demand that their ministers sign the pledge and use unfermented wine at Holy Communion. The 1841 Conference once again out of sympathy for local feeling prohibited unfermented wine and closed the chapels to teetotal meetings. Then the pamphleteering began once again with Bunting still the target. The old grievances against central government were rehearsed and the propriety of local independence was the theme but they were in very bad taste and published anonymously by a venomous former bookseller who became a preacher, James Everett. They succeeded in putting all Methodism in

ferment and filled the 1848 Conference with ill feeling and distrust, matching the fever of revolution which was sweeping Europe in that year. By the next year Conference had determined to act and on Everett's refusal to deny responsibility for the *Fly Sheets*, as his most notorious pamphlets were called, he was expelled along with two other ministers. The ejected three stumped the country, gathering much popular support for their reforming views but to no avail against the legally impregnable Conference. Statistics tell the tale: in 1850-1851 membership fell by 57,000 and in the following year by another 21,000; although the rate slowed in subsequent years, by 1855 the total loss over half a decade had been just over 100,000 or a third of the Wesleyan Methodist Connection.¹² The world was obviously no effective court of appeal against the decision of the Church.

Seven years before the Methodist disruption began, it was preceded by one equally disastrous in the Church of Scotland. In Scotland's established church there was a party standing as decisively for the independent life of the church apart from the state as did the Tractarian in England. In Scotland this party was evangelical. It stood on firmer ground than its English counterpart for it possessed a platform, the General Assembly, which met and governed, unlike the English Convocations, suppressed since 1717. The Scottish reformation had involved standing up

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 384.

to the crown, unlike the English reformation instigated by the crown, and the General Assembly could claim sovereign rights far exceeding those being claimed by the Tractarians for the church. The crisis in part arose, like those of Hampden and Gorham in England, over the rights of patrons to present to livings. The Veto Act of the 1834 General Assembly which ruled that no pastor should be placed in a congregation against its will was a direct challenge to the law. In the law suits over the Auchterarder and Marnoch presentations, the state courts upheld the civil law stinging the General Assembly into intransigent belligerence against the decision and provoking in 1843 the disruption which saw one-third of the ministers withdraw to form the Free Church, unshackled by state supervision. Even with the greater independence and self-government she enjoyed, the Church of Scotland could not express her will authoritatively without coming into conflict with the law and, in that arena, losing.

Two decades later, in 1865, the Church Service Society was founded by members of the Church of Scotland who were concerned to improve the public worship of the Church both by the study of ancient and modern liturgies from various Christian Communion and by producing modern forms of worship for the celebration of the Sacraments and Ordinances based on sound historical study. The most important of these forms was the *Euchologion* which first appeared in 1867. "No book since the Parliamentary Directory had comparable influence on the worship of English-speaking

Presbyterians, as it went through edition after edition."¹³

Baptists and Congregationalists were by nature independent, parochially-centred religious groups although by the third decade of the nineteenth century they were being propelled towards federation. Some sort of union would afford them protection of their rights as dissenters, a means of overseeing the training and calling of ministers, and an opportunity to support and oversee missions at home and in foreign parts. The experienced benefits of union abroad to which the London Missionary Society could testify were a strong impetus to union at home. Although there were some among the Congregationalists who hoped for a union of all Independent congregations, Congregational or Baptist,¹⁴ the Baptists formed their own union in 1832 by reorganising an embryo which dated back to 1813. The Baptist Union was at first confined to Particular Baptists who were moderate Calvinists and was generally shunned by the Strict and Particular Baptists whose policy of closed communion was as strict as their Calvinism. Gradually relations with the Arminian General Baptists warmed but the union was achieving little save the collection of statistics, an annual meeting and the support of widows of missionaries and pastors from the profits of the Baptist Magazine and hymn books. The lack of solid achievement

¹³ Davies, *Worship and Theology in England*, vol. IV, p. 96.

¹⁴ Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, pt. I, p. 401.

after 50 years of union brought the discouraged remark from the chairman of 1863, John Howard Hinton, that there was no union among Baptists, there never had been and never would be.¹⁵ In this he was only expressing in another way what the Master of the Rolls had perceived in 1860 in delivering judgement in the case of a trustee of a Baptist church who had sued for the property of the congregation on the grounds that open Communion was being practiced in violation of trust-deeds. The Master then said that "as the principle of Free or Mixed Communion was not a fundamental point of faith, the practice must be subject to the regulation of each Church or Congregation"¹⁶: there was no coercive authority beyond the congregation. It was not until 1891 that an effective amalgamation of General and Particular Baptists was achieved although stricter and more Calvinistic groups still remained aloof.

At the same time as the Baptists were in the process of forming that Union, the Congregational dissenters were also metamorphosing into something like a modern denomination, but, as might be expected, not without growing pains. The growth of central authority meant a denial of the sovereign independence of the chapel, a fundamental axiom of independency. It was on this tension that the Congregational union of 1831 almost floundered. Various proponents wanted

¹⁵ A. L. Underwood, *History of English Baptists*, (London, Kingsgate, 1947), p. 212.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

too much union: a representative assembly with debates (though merely with the power of recommending decisions to local chapels), the protection of trusts, the improvement of architecture, better kept records and provision of ministerial pensions. Opponents glorying in no creed and desiring no submission to a superior ecclesiastical body wanted to avoid becoming part of a sectarian church, a concept they rejected. But agreement was met among those who agreed not to unite and twenty-six of the thirty-four English county associations of independent congregations joined a union founded on a recognition of "the scriptural right of every separate church to maintain perfect independence in the government and administration of its own particular affairs; and therefore that the union shall not in any case assume legislative authority or become a court of appeal."¹⁷ The Congregational Union was rather a consultative body, a means of acquiring statistics, an organ of representation to government, and the organizer of an annual meeting of ministers and officials from every congregation. It is a pity the Union did not have more authority for it could have used it to extinguish the fires of disagreement which were lit by John Campbell, the editor of the two Congregational newspapers who irritated his denomination with his bombastic journalism which attacked both the Established church and the Methodists. Campbell's principal critic, T. T. Lynch, was later accused of pantheism which

¹⁷ Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, pt. I, p. 402.

gave Campbell the opportunity to strike back. The ensuing tension was so great that the Union itself was in jeopardy and had to postpone its meeting planned for the autumn of 1836. Congregationalists were divided on doctrinal matters like other church bodies. In 1857 Samuel Davidson, an instructor at their Lancashire college, was dismissed (by eighteen votes to sixteen) for publishing a book, *The Text of the Old Testament Considered*, which abandoned the theory of Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and limited biblical inspiration to matters of faith and morals.¹⁸ Even though there was such wide divergence of opinion, there was no thought of recourse to the secular courts with their lay judges as the Established church had done.

In the non-episcopal Churches the quest for Catholicity revolved principally around the location of the seat of authority: was the local congregation supreme or did a central conference have the last word? Although a movement towards centralization can be seen clearly in Congregationalism and the Baptists, the real power - and hence the real authority - still lay with the local congregation. This is in absolute contrast to the Catholic Apostolic Church which very quickly lost its congregational character and within five years of its formal establishment acknowledged the central authority of the Apostles in council. In the Church of Scotland the authority question paralleled that in the Church of England: in ecclesiastical matters was the Church

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 407.

or the State supreme? Resolution of the question in favour of the latter resulted in schism, as serious as that among Methodists in England who rejected the central authority of Conference. Among Methodists and Presbyterians a desire for the re-establishment of liturgical tradition can be seen in the unsuccessful movement among Methodists for the use of cassock, gown and bands as well as the highly successful work of the Church Service Society within the Church of Scotland. When compared with the situation in the Catholic Apostolic Church where traditional eucharistic vestments were adapted in 1842 and whose liturgy by 1868 was celebrated not simply according to a fixed form but accompanied with lights, incense and holy water as well, the advances within Methodism and Presbyterianism assume very modest proportions indeed. Comprehensiveness, the third of the components of catholicism, was notably lacking in Methodism where teetotalism ousted temperance. In Presbyterianism it was manifested by the desire of the members of the Church Service Society to extend their liturgical studies to all liturgies, not merely to those of the Reformed tradition. The nagging desire in all non-episcopal groups for some sort of central organization which even if it could not govern, could bring together all those who acknowledged a denominational label, is a permanent indication of the universal desire for an inclusiveness which could include rather than exclude ecclesiastical brethren.

Smaller Churches

Unlike the mainline churches, whose search during the nineteenth century for a more adequate expression of the catholicity of the church centred on a revival from within the denomination of forgotten or hitherto unappreciated aspects of authority, tradition and comprehensiveness, a group of new denominations sprang up, seeking to express the same ideals through a recovery of the primitive pattern of New Testament church life and worship. They included the Plymouth Brethren, the Disciples of Christ and the Salvation Army. To this group may be added the Mormon Church which was spawned in a milieu of evangelical revivalism, although it developed in a more heterodox direction.

The Plymouth Brethren were founded in Dublin in 1827 by J. N. Darby, an Anglican clergyman, acquiring their name in 1830 when their headquarters were transferred to Plymouth. Parallels between the Plymouth Brethren and the Catholic Apostolic Church are clear. Both arose in the late 1820s from a background of extreme Evangelicalism; both are characterized by a predominance of upper middle class members, millennial expectation, puritanical moral attitude, the centrality of the Lord's Supper, a conservative outlook on Biblical interpretation, a desire for Christian unity, the experience of a major disruption and a single guiding mind which directed them. They would have differed over matters of theology (the Brethren were Calvinist), the ministry (the Brethren had no organized ministry, although they did recognize the functions of teacher, pastor and evangelist,

but not that of elder) and the position of the local church (the Brethren were absolutely congregational in polity) but they were obviously related, although the Brethren were more widespread than the Catholic Apostolic Church, both numerically and geographically.

In comparing the Mormons, founded in Manchester, New Hampshire by Joseph Smith in 1830, with the Catholic Apostolic Church, the most striking concurrences are in the pattern of organization both of the Church as a whole and of individual congregations. The Catholic Apostolics had a Council of Twelve Apostles directing the affairs of their group as a whole, each of the twelve having particular responsibility for a Tribe or geographical area, as well as a subsidiary Meeting of the Seven Churches of London. Angels, Priests and deacons served under this leadership with local congregations having a council of Elders and a group of seven deacons directing spiritual and practical affairs. In Mormonism denominational leadership was provided by a First Presidency consisting of three high priests, a president and two counsellors, Twelve Apostles, and Seventy Elders who supervised the work of the superior Melchizedek priesthood and the inferior Aaronic priesthood. This pattern is repeated in each State of Zion as the Church's geographical divisions are termed. The establishment of the Presidency, Apostolate and Seventy between 1834 and 1837 coincided with the organizational period in the Catholic Apostolic Church. In both groups the Apostolate, after a lapse of centuries, was restored by divine

intervention. The titles given to the Apostles - Brigham Young being 'the Lion of the Lord', Porley Pratt 'the Archer of Paradise' and Lyman Wright 'the Wild Ram of the Mountains' - are in the same mode as the titles of 'Pillar' given to the leading Catholic Apostolic Apostle, Prophet, Evangelist and Pastor. Extreme secrecy about internal matters characterized both groups and like the Plymouth Brethren both suffered schism relatively early in their history. Divine revelation was important to both as a means of establishing faith and practice, but the Catholic Apostolic Church was much more conservative in its acceptance of prophetic utterances - making them subject to interpretation by the Apostles - and so it avoided difficulties which the Mormons have always had to face with regard to the Book of Mormon, polygamy, Trinitarian doctrine, baptism for the dead and the site of the millennial kingdom. Both groups believe the Holy Ghost to be mediated by the Laying on of Hands, practice tithing and look for the near return of the Lord.

The Disciples of Christ originated in the United States of America in 1811 as a body within Presbyterianism to evangelize westward moving settlers. It was organized as a separate denomination in 1833 and ten years later was established in England. A keen desire for Christian unity is the motivating factor in this group as it was with the Catholic Apostolic Church. The Disciples accept the scriptures as the exclusive basis of faith and reject all credal formulae. In this as well as in their congregational

polity, belief in the priesthood of all believers and practice of believer's baptism, they differ from the Catholic Apostolic Church but both celebrate the Lord's Supper as the central act of Sunday worship, expressing its efficacy in terms of 'real presence' (Catholic Apostolic) and 'real action' (Disciples) and with wide divergence in ceremonial, the Disciples having virtually none in comparison to the Catholic Apostolic Church's rich eucharistic pageantry.

When William Booth, the former Methodist minister, began his work with the down and outs of London's East End in 1865, the Catholic Apostolic Church was firmly established on the ecclesiastical scene. The formal organization of the Salvation Army did not take place until 1878 (after Cardale's death) and, although dissimilar in methods of evangelism, social class and worship, it did have several points of agreement with the Catholic Apostolic Church in its hierarchical structure, its thorough discipline, its use of ceremonial and its definite, though simple, orthodox Christian teaching. The missionary outreach of the Salvation Army was much more successful than that of the Catholic Apostolic Church; within a decade of its formal organization fully one thousand local corps had been established in Great Britain and successful missionary work was being accomplished in eighteen countries on four continents.

In looking at these four smaller churches we see varying expressions of the component themes of catholicity: authority, tradition and comprehension. The centralized

authority of Mormonism and the Salvation Army contrasts sharply with the congregational authority found in the Disciples of Christ and the Plymouth Brethren but in each case there is no doubt as to the location of the final court of appeal. The expressions of primitivism in worship and faith and the acceptance of the Bible as the only source for doctrinal and moral teaching by the Brethren, the Disciples and the Army are as genuine a seeking after tradition as the Mormon reverence for their Scriptures and the doctrines derived from them. The choice of all the groups to ignore the traditions built up by the Church during the centuries intervening between apostolic days and the time of their founding may seem odd to outsiders but is not illegitimate. Doctrinal simplicity which characterizes the Brethren, the Disciples and the Army is only one indication of a desire to include rather than exclude individuals from fellowship while the aggressive missionary zeal of the Army, the Mormons and the Disciples is another sign of the desire of these groups for comprehension.

Scientific and Speculative Thought

If the Churches were having problems as they groped towards adequate expressions of the Church's catholicity in their doctrine, life and worship, they could at least take comfort in the fact that the scientific and philosophical world was in a similar turmoil. It is significant that during the period under consideration the theological and philosophical worlds if they did not overlap,

at least interreacted one with the other. S. T. Coleridge and Thomas Arnold had accustomed the English-speaking world to think less rigidly about the inspiration of the Old Testament but by the dawn of the Victorian age the demythologizing *Life of Jesus* by David Frederick Strauss of Tübingen had begun to influence English thinkers. Fear of prosecution under the blasphemy laws kept English publishers from making this work available until a court judgment of 1842 held that "though it may be blasphemous to impugn Christ scoffingly, any man may soberly and reverently examine the truth of the doctrines."¹⁹ Four years later Chapman published George Eliot's translation of Strauss' work.

The questioning critical spirit received a further fillup in 1859 with the publication of John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*. Mill took the process to its logical conclusion not only in demanding complete liberty for those aspects of an individual's life and conduct which affect no one but himself but also in asserting that, in the dealings of society with the individual, "the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self protection."²⁰ Pushed to its extreme, *On Liberty* anticipates a time when there are no allegiances,

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 488.

²⁰ John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, (London, Longmans, 1854), 3rd ed., pp. 21-22.

no abiding principles, only opinions which are valuable only insofar as they provide material for discussion. Intellectually restless himself, Mill argued that free thought was its own reward: by exercising the privilege of using his brain and sorting his world out for himself, the individual ennobled himself by attaining his full stature as a human being.

Of course the critical mind had been at work long before Mill's famous essay focused it before the public. Between 1820 and 1840 geology was the science of the day in the English-speaking world. It was presided over by two Anglican clergymen, Adam Sedgwick and William Buckland, professors of geology at Cambridge and Oxford respectively. Researches in their field led first to the abandoning of the Genesis time frame and then to a jettisoning of the Universal Flood; although abused by the public, slowly opinion shifted, but at the expense of widening the gap between educated and popular theology. Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, which was germinating during this period although it was not published until 1850, reflects the views of geologists and also the idea of evolution, and by its popularity and the prestige of its author influenced the popular mind of its readers.

From 1831 to 1837 Charles Darwin was active exploring the flora and fauna of this planet as a naturalist on board H.M.S. Beagle. Two years later he published the results of his observations in *The Voyage of the Beagle*, principally that in comparing fauna of the same genus but different

species it appears that a common form has undergone specific differentiation for the purpose of adaptation under the influence of environmental conditions. For Darwin variation and the power of variation is the great principle of the survival, multiplication and propagation of life. He spent a further two decades in investigation and reflection on his theories and in 1859 published *On the Origin of Species by means of natural selection*. In presenting his views, Darwin tended to take a middle course on their religious implications. Of his theory, he himself says

There is a grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one; and that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being, evolved. 21

Grandeur there may have been but in Darwin's view lay the seeds of agnosticism which were to flower in the teachings of his disciples. The act of creation, not being subject to the kind of explanation involved in the structure of the theory of evolution, is excluded from the theory as unknown, not being subject to verifiable observation. And an unknown creation can easily become an unknowable one or even an irrelevant hypothesis.

It was the self-taught philosopher Herbert Spencer

21 Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species*, (London, Murray, 1860), p. 490.

who was to raise, extend and popularize through his fast selling writings Darwin's doctrine. Spencer raised the evolutionary thesis to a philosophical level by extending Darwin's empirical process and evolutionary theory from the realm of animals to the realm of man. Religion and science as known by men are both hampered by imperfect development and being incomplete are incapable of providing the ultimate answers they claim to give. The disagreements between them have been but the consequences of their incompleteness; as they evolve into their final forms, they reach entire harmony. All knowledge is relative: the task of philosophy is to unify it by the formulation of universal propositions, not to provide answers about original causes or ultimate goals. Darwin's method and his agnosticism about ultimate causes and purposes were pressed to their logical limit as all phenomena in life, mind and society are interpreted in terms of the vast evolutionary process:

There are not many metamorphoses similarly carried on; but there is a single metamorphosis universally progressing ... In any locality, great or small, throughout space, where the occupying matter acquires an appreciable individuality, or distinguishableness from other matter, the Evolution goes on ... 22

The sales of Spencer's *System of Synthetic Philosophy* are an indication of its popularity and impact on the public mind: Spencer was enabled to support himself on the

22 Herbert Spencer, *First Principles*, (London, Williams and Norgate, 1884), pp. 546-547.

royalties! His effort to construct a philosophical edifice on the principle of evolution left a strong and unsettling impression on the speculative world of his day.

One could expect infidelity outside the church, but what happens when the body itself becomes infected? Seven members of the Church of England, all but one of them clergymen, in publishing *Essays and Reviews* in 1860, deliberately threw down the gauntlet before the great body of Anglican opinion in the name of reason, science and biblical criticism. The volume generally tended to deprecate dogma and lay the greatest possible stress on the moral content of Christianity. As might be expected, an uproar ensued. A petition of protest against *Essays and Reviews* was presented to the Archbishop containing ten thousand signatures. The volume aroused more excitement in intellectual circles in 1860 and 1861 than that surrounding Darwin's *The Origin of Species* even to the extent of moving unbelievers such as T. H. Huxley to a defence of their new allies whom the Archbishop of Canterbury had censured!²³

Although often associated in the popular mind with the writers of *Essays and Reviews*, probably because the rumpus raised by his case appeared shortly after the book had thrown a liberal cat among conservative theological pigeons, in reality the case of J. W. Colenso who was bishop of Natal from 1853 to 1883 sprang from roots vitally

²³ Mark Francis, "The origins of *Essays and Reviews*: an interpretation of Mark Pattison in the 1850's", *Historical Journal* XVII, 4 (1974), p. 797.

different from those of the essayists. They were pleading for a free hand with scripture, the right to reject what seemed to them repulsive or impossible; Colenso too was led to reject the historical errors of Scripture but from a basis of extreme literalism. In documenting the erroneous numerical element in the Pentateuch he concluded a lack of historicity and therefore rejected the whole. As the essayists were radicals of the left, so Colenso was a radical of the right. For his pains Colenso was deposed by his metropolitan in 1863. Going to law, Colenso received a verdict which startled both him and his opponents. The metropolitan's verdict had no legal validity. As there was no established church in South Africa, the state could not defend the claim of the church. The legal unity of the Anglican Communion was broken. Henceforth it was to be a family of independent churches in communion with one another but with different sources of power. Only in England did the crown retain its traditional authority over the church; in self-governing parts of the Empire the power vacuum was filled by the local bench of bishops who professed a general loyalty and obedience to the crown-appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. Attempting to escape from state control abroad if not at home, the English bishops consecrated and sent off a successor, W. K. Macrorie, to the deposed Colenso. Unfortunately for this man, Colenso obtained confirmation of his temporal rights and emoluments in the English courts and so provided the edifying spectacle of two rival bishops of Natal for fourteen

years until Colenso's death in 1883. *Essays and Reviews* and the Colenso case illustrate a different aspect of the conflict between the church in its attempt to exercise its authority and discipline its members and the state's reluctance to uphold the judgements of Ecclesiastical Courts.

"The Colenso case ... clearly indicated confusions in the theoretical basis and juridical status of the Church of England which remain unresolved."²⁴

In the realm of scientific and speculative thought the narrowness of the old deism, agnosticism and atheism as responses to or replacements for Christianity were being replaced by newer and more catholic attitudes. The folly of a literal return to a venerable tradition in a scientific age was highlighted by the Colenso debacle which also illustrated (along with the *Life of Jesus* judgement) that the courts could neither establish nor guarantee the solidity of theological truth. The propriety of critical enquiry into hitherto sacred subjects and the authority of logic and scientific method in establishing truth became accepted in many circles because of the work of Mill, Darwin and Spencer outside the Church and was demonstrated to be equally acceptable to thoughtful churchmen by the contributors to *Essays and Reviews*. The comprehensive implications of evolutionary theory not only widened man's scientific horizon but also encouraged the ordinary person

²⁴ A. O. J. Cockshutt, *Religious Controversies of the Nineteenth Century*, (London, Methuen, 1966), p. 14.

to interpret the world in dynamic rather than static terms. The Catholic Apostolic Church was not interested or involved in matters of scientific or higher biblical criticism. Its attitude to such matters was conservative if not fundamentalist. At the same time the attitudes represented in the scientific and philosophical world of their day reflect the same sort of concerns, although they were expressed in very different terms, which characterized the Catholic Apostolic movement in its quest for catholicity.

External and internal factors contributed to the religious unsettlement of nineteenth century Britain. The external factors included the transference of population from country to city and the great immigration from Ireland which made all churches struggle to cope with the problem of evangelization. Their inability led to the buildup of a non- or anti-religious proletariat which, prepared by continental ideas, fed on local expressions of liberty and critical enquiry. Another external factor was the growing legal emancipation of Dissenters and Roman Catholics and ultimately of Jews and non-believers which made England move towards a time of pluralism and competition in religion and irreligion. These external pressures placed upon all groups the internal necessity of defining their reasons for existence, their doctrine, authority and government. It is possible to make a case for excluding the smaller groups mentioned in this survey because of their separation from the mainstream of Christianity, yet in every particular case whether inside or outside a denomination large or small,

the influences of a search for authority, the value of tradition and a desire for comprehensiveness have been present in a mixture varying in degree according to the nature of the group. In going on to look in detail at the life and work of Cardale, whose influence on the Catholic Apostolic Church, its genesis, organization, life and teaching were decisive, the same themes occur. Although he would repudiate the statement, it could almost be said that the Catholic Apostolic Church was Cardale's church. Without doubt the group could more legitimately be called 'Cardaleites' than Irvingites, the popular designation which they deny with justice.

CHAPTER TWOCARDALE THE MANOld Foundations (1802-1830)

A family historian, a great-grandson of John Bate Cardale, has traced the pedigree of his family back twelve generations to William Cardale, who flourished at the end of the sixteenth century. Five generations later another William Cardale, the fourth and not the last to bear the name in the family tree, was born in 1746, married Elizabeth Delafield and in 1774 established the firm of Duck and Cardale in partnership with another solicitor, Thomas Duck, at 14 Holborn Court, Grays Inn. This firm, after many changes of style is now called Iliffe and Edwards of 5 John Street, WC 1, the Bury Chesham, and 23 High Street, Ingatestore, Essex and except between 1863 and 1877 has always had a direct descendant of the founder as a partner. Mr. J. C. L. Sweet, a present partner, is the seventh generation in descent from the originator of the firm.¹ In 1800 the founder's son, William, who was born in 1777 and who had the previous year married Mary Ann Bennett, joined the firm. Their first child, also William, died shortly after birth.

¹ Letter of J. C. L. Sweet to John Lancaster, 30 December 1976. Mr. Sweet has generously made his knowledge of John Bate Cardale's ancestors and descendants as well as information about the Cardale law partnership freely available. In all instances where discrepancies occur between printed sources, I accept his facts as normative unless otherwise noted.

On 7 November 1802 William and Mary Ann's first surviving son John Bate was born at the family home, 28 Lamb's Conduit Street in Holborn, between Coram's Fields and Gray's Inn. He was later joined in the family by two sisters: Elizabeth Mary Ann, born in 1804 and Emily, born in 1806, as well as by a brother, Edward Thomas, born in 1810. Paul Remington, another brother, also died in infancy.

John Bate Cardale was admitted to Gascoigne's House at Rugby School in 1815² and three years later was articled to his father. The prospect of a solicitor's career did not appeal to Cardale. In a letter to his cousin James Melville written seeking advice from one who was not only a friend but a Christian, Cardale, having spent four years in articles expresses his disquiet as well as his sense of vocation. Finding the legal profession unsatisfactory in all its aspects, he writes,

I do not hesitate to say nothing but the conviction of duty could induce me to be admitted an Attorney when my articles have expired. 3

The letter shows Cardale's concern for this father's feelings as well as a realization of the call of duty. The fact that forsaking the profession would cut off the considerable expectations he had from his wealthy father was no deterrent. What Cardale really wanted was a profession

² Letter of Frank Wiseman, Curator of Rugby Archives, to John Lancaster, 17 January 1977.

³ Letter from John Bate Cardale to James Melville, 3 October 1822.

where he could exercise his gifts without the dissimulation necessary in a lawyer's dealings with others. Cardale's father had quickly dismissed the possibility of a university education when John Bate broached the subject before entering the family firm as an articled clerk. Such an education followed by ordination was obviously John Bate's desire.

The profession I should prefer would undoubtedly be the church not that a man can render himself useful in that profession alone but because it would take out of the way of many temptations which from the constitution of my mind [I] fear I should otherwise be liable to. Besides I should be glad to take myself from the world and dedicate myself to the more immediate service of God. 4

The advice given by Cardale's cousin in reply was that unless John Bate was sure of the plain direction of providence, he should remain in the legal profession and bring the virtues of integrity which were affronted by many of its current practices to bear on any business John Bate might conduct.⁵ From the correspondence it is clear that John Bate also sought his mother's advice. Whether or not he actually broached the subject to his father is unknown but after spending six years in articles he was admitted as a solicitor on 8 July 1824.⁶

His admission was quickly followed by marriage to

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Letter from James Melville to John Bate Cardale, 22 October 1822.

⁶ Letter of P. Ryan, Chief Executive Officer, Records and Statistical Department, the Law Society, to John Lancaster, 17 December 1976.

Emma, the second daughter of Thomas William Plummer of Clapham, on 14 September,⁷ and by admission to partnership in the two firms with which his father was associated - Cardale and Buxton of 14 Holborn Court, Gray's Inn, and Cardale and Bramley of 2 Bedford Row. John Bate's father must have had great confidence in his son's ability for he retired on his son's entering the partnership.⁸ William Cardale did not enjoy a long retirement; he died at Harrogate, Yorkshire on 26 September 1826,⁹ three months after the birth of John Bate and Emma's first child, named Emma Mary Ann after her mother and grandmother, on 19 June. It is through Emma's daughter, Ellen Caroline Barclay, who married James Leslie Sweet, a partner in a united firm styled Iliffe's, Henley and Sweet at 2 Bedford Row, that the direct connection of the firm with the founder survives.

As a young solicitor Cardale must have been a busy man, for his father's will left the legal partnership to him, as well as a share in the financial proceeds of a not inconsiderable estate. For the next nine years he not only carried out the duties of his profession but also became responsible for five more children, as well as becoming increasingly involved with ecclesiastical affairs. The respect which his father and grandfather had earned in

⁷ Letter of J. C. L. Sweet, 30 December 1976.

⁸ Letter of J. C. L. Sweet to John Lancaster, 16 February 1977.

⁹ Letter of P. Ryan, 17 December 1976.

the legal world is reflected in the clientele represented by the Cardale firm which included Gray's Inn, Rugby School, the Equitable Fire Insurance Company and the National Reversionary Investment Company.¹⁰ These and other less well known clients were represented by Cardale and his partners Samuel Buxton, William Bromley and William Newton who were joined by Cardale's brother, Edward Thomas, in 1831.¹¹ His first professional involvement in ecclesiastical matters was in 1832 when he advised and accompanied Edward Irving at his trial before the London Presbytery which was held on three days between 26 April and 2 May and which resulted in Irving's deposition from his charge. With his increasing involvement in the ecclesiastical affairs which led to the formation of the Catholic Apostolic Church, his professional activities declined. The partnership with Buxton and Newton was dissolved and in 1833 the Holborn Court office was closed. In 1834, the year before the formal founding of the Catholic Apostolic Church, Cardale retired from the active exercise of his profession,¹² although he remained a partner in the firm until 1863¹³ and a member in good standing of the Law Society until his death.¹⁴ Regrettably, no record of his professional

¹⁰ *Law Times*, vol. 63, no. 1793 (11 August 1877), p. 273 and no. 1795 (25 August 1877), p. 297.

¹¹ Letter of J. C. L. Sweet, 16 February 1977.

¹² *Law Times*, 25 August 1877, p. 297.

¹³ Letter of J. C. L. Sweet, 16 February 1977.

¹⁴ Letter of P. Ryan, 17 December 1976.

dealings with those he represented survives today.¹⁵

Six new members were added to his family: William Thomas born in 1827, John born in 1829, Emily Isabella born in 1830, Jane Elizabeth born in 1832, Edward (who was later to qualify as a solicitor) born in 1834 and Henry born in 1835. The death of John in 1833 was the first serious tragedy which the family had to face. In 1835 the new Apostolate had been formed and was called by the voice of prophecy to retire to Drummond's estate at Albury to prepare by study, meditation, discussion and prayer for the work to which they had been separated.¹⁶ John Bate and Emma established themselves at Cooke's Place, still today hard by the Apostles' Chapel built by Henry Drummond, and remained there until their deaths.

New Foundations (1830-1835)

Cardale's first involvement in spiritual matters outside the Established Church occurred in 1830 when he led a six-member delegation to Scotland to investigate the spiritual manifestations which had occurred in the Clyde area. On his return he wrote an account of his investigations to the editor of *The Morning Watch*, concluding that the speaking with tongues and prophesying which he

¹⁵ Letter of Frank Wiseman, 17 January 1977 and letter of P. C. Beddingham, Librarian at Gray's Inn, to John Lancaster, 21 February 1977.

¹⁶ Ludwig Albrecht, *The work by Apostles at the end of the Dispensation* (Vancouver, Wrigley Directories, 1934), p. 11.

had observed were genuinely inspired by the Holy Ghost.¹⁷ Cardale became spokesman for the investigating team, the first indication of his qualities of leadership. The judicious style in which his report is written speaks of an ability unusual in a young man of twenty-eight years and while sympathetic gives no hint of zealous enthusiasm for what he saw. After Cardale had verified the news from Scotland, weekly prayer meetings began to be held in the homes of those interested in the revival of spiritual gifts in the Church, including that of Cardale himself, "beseeching the Lord to revive the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and to pour out His Spirit on His Church."¹⁸ At one of these meetings on 30 April 1831, Emma, Cardale's wife

whose character was less than enthusiastic ... spoke with great solemnity three sentences in an unknown tongue, following them with three short sentences in English as interpretation: 'The Lord will speak to His people; the Lord hasteneth His coming; the Lord cometh.'¹⁹

and not long afterwards Emily, Cardale's sister, "a sweet and modest young lady",²⁰ had a vision.

Cardale himself did not exercise any spiritual gifts until a further eighteen months had passed. Being a

¹⁷ John Bate Cardale, "On the extraordinary manifestations in Port Glasgow", *The Morning Watch*, vol. 2 (1830), pp. 869-873.

¹⁸ F. V. Woodhouse, *Address on the death of Mr. Cardale*, (London, 1877), p. 2.

¹⁹ R. Norton, quoted by Rowland A. Davenport, *Albury Apostles*, ([London]: United Writers, 1970), p. 51.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

conscientious churchman, however, he reported the spiritual manifestations which had taken place at his house to his clergyman, Baptist Noel, who was incumbent of the nearby St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, seeking his approval of these occurrences and sanction for their continuance. Noel not only refused his blessing but also spoke against the authenticity of the spiritual gifts from his pulpit in restrained but unmistakably definite language. After a consideration of scripture passages adduced in favour of a revival of spiritual powers, he continued:

None of these passages sustain an expectation that miraculous powers will revive in the church; and, until some stronger reasons than these can afford to be adduced in favour of the expectation, I am entitled to consider it as an expectation unfounded in Scripture, and therefore not faith; the general consent of Christians, for many ages, not to expect them, cannot be stigmatized as unbelief; nor can they have been lost to the church through the want of a faith which we are not warranted to exercise. 21

Having shown that there are no texts which confirm the expectation of the gifts, Noel goes on to outline six considerations which in fact forbid such an anticipation. As might be expected, the Cardales felt increasingly uncomfortable at St. John's and began to attend Irving's services on occasion, although they did not join his regular congregation until August 1832,²² three months after

21 Baptist W. Noel, *Remarks on the Revival of Miraculous Powers in the Church*, (London, Nisbet, 1831), p. 16.

22 John Bate Cardale, *A letter on certain statements contained in some late articles in "The Old Church Porch" entitled "Irvingism"*, (London, Goodall, [1855]), p. 62.

acting for Irving at his trial before the London Presbytery. Events then moved quickly. On 20 October, at the second service in the newly-opened Newman Street Church, Cardale spoke in the power of the Spirit, thus joining the growing band of gifted persons, and in November he was called to the Apostolate. Cardale's sister, Emily, who was present at the latter event, recalled it in a letter dated 15 February 1872.

On the evening of November 7th, 1832, I was at a prayer-meeting at Mr. Irving's house amongst a great many more, and my brother engaged in prayer, and was very busy asking the Lord to give us the Holy Ghost, when Mr. Drummond rose from his knees and went across the room to my brother, and said in great power, 'Convey it, convey it, for art thou not an apostle?' Of course it was very solemn, but none spoke of it; the prayer-meeting went on, and my brother soon commenced doing Apostolic work, although always being moved to it in the power of the Holy Ghost ... 24

It is important to note that both Cardale's first exercise of spiritual gifts and his recognition as an apostle occurred under relatively "normal" religious circumstances. He did not speak in tongues at the first service in the Newman Street Church, an occasion when enthusiasm might well have prompted such an occurrence, nor was his recognition as an Apostle more than an almost incidental happening at a regular prayer meeting. Both incidents, as

23 R. Norton, quoted by Rowland A. Davenport, *Albury Apostles*, p. 92.

24 P. E. Shaw, *The Catholic Apostolic Church*, (New York, Kings Crown Press, 1946), p. 75.

well as the fact that Cardale did not exercise any Apostolic authority for a further seven weeks, point to a cautious and reserved character, the very antithesis of an enthusiast. At the same time it must be observed that Cardale was expecting an open call to do the work of an Apostle as confirmation of what "had been revealed to himself in his secret communion with God, that the Lord had destined him to be an Apostle."²⁵ Eventually, on Christmas Eve 1832, Cardale in the power of the Spirit laid his hands on William Rennie Caird, the husband of Mary Campbell, one of the Scotswomen whose manifestation of the power of the Spirit had been investigated by Cardale and his commission two years before, ordaining him as an Evangelist. Two days later Drummond was ordained as Angel of the Church at Albury.

The year 1833 saw several significant changes in Cardale's life. On 13 March after a one day trial before the Presbytery of Annan, Irving was deposed from the Presbyterian ministry. He returned to his Newman Street congregation but was inhibited from administering the sacrament of holy Baptism on 31 March by Cardale and told to confine himself for the moment to preaching. This was the first occasion that Cardale used his apostolic authority to regulate the actions of a subordinate. The former ecclesiastical relationship of Irving and Cardale had been reversed, and Irving recognized Cardale's authority as

²⁵ F. V. Woodhouse, *Address on the death of Mr. Cardale*, p. 2.

greater than his own. Irving's situation was quickly regularized by Cardale who ordained him Angel of the Newman Street Church on 5 April. Sadly, Irving was to hold his 'new' appointment for only eight months, dying in Glasgow on 7 December of the same year and a full eighteen months before the formal separation of the Apostles. Irving's ordination is a watershed. Before it the Catholic Apostolic Movement was an outgrowth of the Albury Conferences and of individual Spirit-filled congregations, principally that of Irving at the Newman Street Church. After Cardale's exercise of regulatory apostolic authority in first inhibiting and then ordaining Irving, the Movement loses its disparate congregational aspect and becomes, at least in embryo, the Catholic Apostolic Church. Henceforth, from a practical point of view the Catholic Apostolic Movement must function as a separate community with its own ministry, its distinctive tenets, and its peculiar worship.

The Albury Conferences were a series of five week-long meetings held yearly between 1826 and 1830 at Drummond's estate at Albury. Consisting of invited clergy and laymen they were convened to study the prophetic implications of Scripture. Similar conferences under other auspices were held elsewhere but those at Albury were the earliest. Forty-four individuals were eventually involved, seventeen of them laymen. Cardale was never a member although several of those later prominent in the Catholic Apostolic Church were.²⁶

²⁶ Henry Drummond, *Narrative of the Circumstances which led to the setting up of the Church of Christ at Albury*, (Albury,

The conferences were established as a result of Irving's conversion of Drummond to belief in the pre-millennial advent. This had been a theme of Irving's preaching and in the preface to his translation of Joseph Ben-Ezra's *The coming of the Messiah in Glory and Majesty* he argued for the imminent return of Christ with great persuasiveness. The influence of this aspect of Irving's theology on the strong millenarian strain in the general outlook of the Catholic Apostolic Church cannot be overestimated. Without it, for example, the Catholic Apostolic Church would probably still be an active force in the ecclesiastical world today. These theological ideas received wider circulation through the pages of *The Morning Watch*, a prophetic journal bankrolled by Drummond, guided by Irving and edited by John Tudor.

Now that Cardale had begun exercising the apostolic ministry, it was natural that the group which he led should expect the completion of the apostolic college to the full number twelve. In 1833 Drummond was called to join Cardale as well as Henry King-Church, a civil servant, and Spencer Perceval, until recently an M.P., and son of the assassinated Prime Minister of the same name; in the year following, the band was joined by Nicholas Armstrong, an Anglican priest, and Francis V. Woodhouse, a barrister, who was destined to become the last surviving Apostle as well as the Father of the English Bar. A further six were added

in 1835: Henry Dalton, a former Presbyterian minister now an Anglican priest, John Tudor, artist and writer, editor of *The Morning Watch*, Frank Sitwell, one of the landed gentry, Thomas Carlyle, an advocate of the Scottish Bar who had assisted Irving at his trial before the Annan Presbytery, William Dow, a Church of Scotland minister, and Duncan Mackenzie, one of Irving's elders at the Regent Square Church, called at the last minute to replace the Presbyterian minister, David Dow, who though called, declined to serve. The number twelve completed, the new Apostles were separated for their new work after the example of Paul and Barnabas in Acts 13:1-3 on 14 July, two years to the day after John Keble preached his famous Assize Sermon at Oxford. The annual observance of the occasion became a red-letter day in the Catholic Apostolic Church. The Apostles were not regarded as nominated, called, selected or ordained by men, but rather directly appointed by God through the word of prophecy.²⁷ Thus their separation was not an ordination, but rather a release from work in individual churches in order that they might be free to exercise a ministry towards the whole Church.²⁸ Parallel with the calling of the Apostles was the organization of the Seven Churches in London after the model of Revelation 1-3, including the provision of priests

²⁷ John Bate Cardale, *Readings upon the Liturgy*, (London, Pitman, 1878), vol. 2, pp. 418-419.

²⁸ F. V. Woodhouse, *Address on the death of Mr. Cardale*, p. 3.

and deacons for each congregation as well as the call of sixty Evangelists to work in the metropolis, "in all which work Mr. Cardale as Senior Apostle had a most important and responsible duty."²⁹ It was during this time that the voice of prophecy designated Cardale as Pillar of Apostles, thus fusing his historical primacy with spiritual hegemony and confirming it irrevocably.³⁰

Middle Years (1835-1853)

Now the work of the Apostles began in earnest. A weekly celebration of the Eucharist was instituted at Albury, the monthly meeting of the Seven Churches of London at which Cardale presided was inaugurated, and with the Apostles' council established at Albury, work began on the *Testimonies*.³¹ These were statements of the Apostles' estimate of the present condition of Church and State as well as of Christendom generally. They were a proclamation of the infidelity of the Church, a warning of wrath to come and an offer of escape from the impending

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³⁰ A Pillar was the chief of each of the four ministries, connecting the ministers of the Universal Church with those in the Particular Churches. "It is by means of this primacy in each class of ministry, that unity of action is preserved and perfect order attained." F. V. Woodhouse, *A narrative of events*, (London, Bosworth, 1885), 2nd ed., p. 47. The four were J. B. Cardale, Pillar of Apostles, E. O. Taplin, Pillar of Prophets, W. H. Place, Pillar of Evangelists and J. Thompson, Pillar of Pastors.

³¹ F. V. Woodhouse, *A narrative of events*, (London, 1885), pp. 55-66.

judgement through recognition of the ministry and the mission of the Albury Apostles. They were composed by collating the individual opinions of the group. The *Lesser Testimony* addressed to King William IV was edited by Perceval while Cardale edited the *Lesser Testimony* addressed to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England and their clergy.³² These were delivered to their addressees in 1836. The *Greater Testimony* was then prepared, once again under the editorial leadership of Cardale. It was an expansion of the themes and material of its predecessors and was completed in 1838. Addressed to all ecclesiastical and civil authorities in Christendom, it was served in legal fashion on the Pope (as representative of those who usurp the glory of the Kingdom of Christ by claiming to be at once priest and king), the Austrian Emperor (as representative of those who rule irresponsibly by divine right) and the King of France (as representative of limited constitutional monarchs).³³ In the documents edited by Cardale certain characteristics common in his later works are found such as the use of Greek in explaining New Testament references and the use of quotations from Patristic sources, although there is the possibility that these may have been suggested by one of the other Apostles

³² The texts may be found in Edward Miller, *The history and doctrines of Irvingism*, (London, Kegan Paul, 1878), vol. 2, pp. 361-380.

³³ The text may be found in Miller, *The history and doctrines of Irvingism*, vol. 1, pp. 347-436.

as several certainly had the educational background to use such apparatus.

The *Testimonies* delivered, the Apostles went out from Albury to visit their respective 'tribes' or countries which had been assigned to their jurisdiction.³⁴ Cardale as Apostle for the tribe of Judah remained based at Albury, although doubtless visiting most if not all of the thirty-six congregations which were already established in Great Britain³⁵ and naturally encouraging the erection of new ones.

The census of 1851, which only included England and Wales, reported the Catholic Apostolic Church as having 32 congregations with 6973 sittings and 7442 attendances on Census Sunday - 3176 in the morning, 1659 in the afternoon and 2707 in the evening.³⁶ Eventually the Catholic

³⁴ The geographical distribution of the tribes was:

Cardale	England and America	(Judah)
Drummond	Scotland and Switzerland	(Benjamin)
King-Church	Holland, Belgium and Denmark	(Issachar)
Perceval	Italy	(Manasseh)
Armstrong	Ireland and Greece	(Zebulon)
Woodhouse	South Germany and Austria	(Reuben)
Tudor	Poland and India	(Ephraim)
Dalton	France	(Asher)
Sitwell	Spain and Portugal	(Naphtali)
Dow	Russia	(Dan)
Carlyle	Prussia and North Germany	(Simeon)
Mackenzie	Norway and Sweden	(Gad)

Edward Miller, *The history and doctrines of Irvingism*, (London, Kegan Paul, 1878), vol. 1, pp. 180-181.

³⁵ This total had been reached by December 1836. (See Rowland A. Davenport, *Albury Apostles*, p. 106.)

³⁶ These are figures adjusted for defective returns. See Census of Great Britain, 1851, *Religious Worship England and Wales*, (London, Eyre and Spottiswoode for H.M.S.O., 1853), p. cv.

Apostolic Church could number 63 places of worship in England;³⁷ if we guess that Scotland, Ireland and Wales may have had ten congregations each, this would give the church a total of about 90 congregations and perhaps 10,000-12,000 members in Great Britain at the height of its influence.

Those Apostles who went abroad early in 1838 returned home for a council at Christmas of that year and then left again for their tribes until a summons to return went out in December 1839. By June of 1840 they had all returned.³⁸ During their journeys evangelization was not their chief aim, rather their mission was to explore and learn about the spiritual state of their tribe, then to teach and to bear witness as opportunity offered. During their second absence a crisis arose of such serious proportions that it moved Cardale to recall the fellow members of his college. The issue was the challenge to the institutional authority of the Apostles by the charismatic authority of the Prophets. The word of prophecy had been fundamental in establishing the Apostolic College, now it was threatening its position in the church. In short, the question was: Was the authority of the Apostles constitutional or absolute? This

37 A useful demographic survey of Catholic Apostolic church buildings known to be in existence in England in 1900 can be found in R. K. Jones, "The Catholic Apostolic Church: A Study in Diffused Commitment", *A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain*, ed. Michael Hill (London, SCM, 1972), pp. 154-156.

38 P. E. Shaw, *The Catholic Apostolic Church*, p. 95.

involved a consideration of the relationship between the four different ministries which had evolved - Apostle, Prophet, Evangelist and Pastor - especially that between the first two. The movements for prophetic or conciliar government within the Catholic Apostolic Church were repudiated as sources of authority; the Apostles asserted their absolute supremacy. Such an outcome is not surprising in view of the stand taken in *The Great Testimony* not a decade before when the Apostles proclaimed their vocation.

We have shown that God's ordinance for unity of spirit, of faith, and of rule, is the Apostle; that the law of the universal Church can flow only from those, who under Christ have a permanent jurisdiction and episcopate over the whole Church throughout the world; and that to Apostles alone hath that authority been committed - nor by any other Patriarchs, Bishops, Presbyters, whose power of action is practically confined to their own Province, Diocese or Parochial District, can universal control be exercised, or catholic reformation be introduced. 39

The price of victory was high. The Apostle Mackenzie, appointed at the last minute to replace David Dow, withdrew not merely from the Apostolate and the councils of the Catholic Apostolic Church, but also from communion with the body. He was prompted to this action by his serious misgivings about the right of the Apostles to act, even towards those who recognized their authority, until their inner conviction and call to apostolic office was

39 *The Great Testimony*; see Edward Miller, *The history and doctrines of Irvingism*, (London, Kegan Paul, 1878), vol. 1, p. 393.

confirmed by an external manifestation of supernatural commission and power.

One of the results of the journeys made by the Apostles between 1838 and 1840 was observation of and doubtless participation in Roman Catholic, Lutheran and Orthodox worship. What they learned overseas served them well during the following years as they participated in the preparation of the Liturgy. This work was initiated by Cardale.

As soon as the troubles of 1840 were over Mr. Cardale drew up and presented to the Apostles a report in which he besought their consideration of the authorization of a set form of prayer. He showed that this question had occupied the minds of many, and that it was for the advantage of the Community that it should be set at rest.

40

From the first, as we have seen, a weekly Eucharist was the norm at Albury; its influence must have brought about a similar pattern in other congregations in short order. A temporary Liturgy with a strong Presbyterian flavour was circulated in 1838, a more permanent rite, instituted at Albury in 1842, along with the adoption of traditional Catholic vestments, was printed and given general circulation the following year.

This liturgical development of the Catholic Apostolic Church was born in tension and needed delicate treatment and careful tact in order to reach a conclusion which would not disrupt the faithful. Those of Presbyterian and

40 Edward Miller, *The history and doctrines of Irvingism*, vol. 1, pp. 220-221.

Nonconformist backgrounds had a strong antipathy to prescribed forms of prayer, believing that free prayer was a purer vehicle for the worship of Almighty God. This group hoped that the Liturgy would be celebrated extemporaneously, 'in the Spirit', and they had the advantage of representing the tradition inherited from Irving. Those of Anglican background, however, disliked a haphazard form of prayer led by a single minister and much preferred a fixed liturgical form as more comprehensive, more reverent and more edifying. Of the eleven Apostles active after 1840, all but two were former Anglicans, so that the direction which the development of the Liturgy took is not surprising. While others made contributions to the ordering of the Liturgy, "One thing especially should not pass unnoticed, viz., that the whole framework of the Liturgy was in its chief features arranged by Mr. Cardale".⁴¹ With the introduction, establishment and revision of its Liturgy, the Catholic Apostolic Church came to be held together by public formulae rather than simply its belief in the gifts of the Holy Spirit manifested in the ministry of the Apostles, its insistence on the complete humanity of our Lord, and its imminent expectation of the Second Coming. The ultimate prevalence of the Liturgy without wholesale defections is a tribute to Cardale's qualities of leadership which he exercised not only in the introduction of liturgical forms

⁴¹ F. V. Woodhouse, *Address on the death of Mr. Cardale*, p. 4.

but also in explaining the mode of their presentation during the formal visitation of congregations in his tribe in the years 1843-1846. Cardale's first serious work, *A Manual or Summary of Special Objects of Faith and Hope* was published at the beginning of these visitations.

A lack of vitality became apparent in the group about this time. The bloom of initial enthusiasm had faded, the difficulties over the Liturgy had had a negative effect, the Final Consummation, so ardently expected, had not materialized. In 1845 Dalton accepted a Church of England living,⁴² thus limiting his availability for apostolic functions. Drummond entered Parliament once again in 1847, though not abandoning his apostolic authority or duties. Accordingly fresh initiatives were taken by the Apostles under Cardale's leadership. The monthly meetings of the Seven Churches (now only six since the closing of the Westminster Church in 1846 - it was reopened in 1865) suspended since the crisis of 1840, were reinstituted. In 1847, the Liturgy was issued in a second edition, with the Sunday Eucharistic rite virtually in its final form, and special provision was made for the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost as well as for private and special occasions. But the most significant advance of the year was the introduction of The Laying on of Apostle's Hands or Sealing and the use of Chrism. After investigation of

⁴² Edward Miller, *The history and doctrines of Irvingism*, vol. 1, p. 262. P. E. Shaw, *The Catholic Apostolic Church*, p. 80.

of the situation of individual congregations and having conferred with the clergy serving under them, the Apostles took counsel together regarding their responsibility for conveying the Holy Spirit to the faithful.

... the mode of going on to perfection was clearly the giving the Holy Ghost by an outward act of laying on of hands. And the Apostles determined to meet the crisis in this way. And accordingly ... the laying on of hands on the members of the churches first took place on May 1847. 43

The decision taken by the Albury Apostles was certainly the right one.

The mere announcement that such a course was determined on seemed at once to have a reviving effect on the Churches; the lethargy and deadness of which the Angels had complained was removed; a spirit of joy and hopeful expectation seemed at once to animate the people, and they listened with the most marked attention to those preliminary instructions which were given to them. 44

During this period, as Woodhouse's *Address on the Death of Mr. Cardale* makes plain, Cardale's ability led to an increase of his authority in the Apostolic band. With Mackenzie's defection and Dalton and Drummond's partial withdrawal from full time duty, Cardale's position of leadership was enhanced even more. His second publication, *The Confession of the Church*, appeared in 1848. Lights and incense were introduced and the Liturgy revised to accommodate them in 1852. The year 1853 brought the Catholic Apostolic Church its first widespread publicity and a major

43 F. V. Woodhouse, *A narrative of events*, p. 123.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 130.

triumph. The publicity was generated by a lengthy attack written anonymously by E. B. Pusey for *The Old Church Porch* on "The Church's Broken Unity" to which Cardale replied publicly two years later. The triumph was the opening of the magnificent Central Church in Gordon Square, erected at a cost of £30,000, on Christmas Eve, twenty-one years after Cardale's first apostolic act, the ordination of Caird. The movement Cardale headed had come of age. The outcome of these two events of 1853 was an increase of visitors and enquirers and converts, especially from Anglicans disaffected with the Established Church for its anti-ceremonialism, unabashed Erastianism and antipathy to Catholic principles.

In addition to his deep involvement in the life of the Catholic Apostolic Church, the years between the Separation of the Apostles and the opening of the Central Church saw a further seven children born to the Cardales. Four girls - Ellen Plummer, Mary Frances, Margaret Anna and Christina Louisa, the baby of the family, were born in 1836, 1838, 1844 and 1849; and three boys - George, who like his brother Edward was to join his father's law firm and who was eventually one of his father's executors, Charles, who was to have a distinguished career in the Royal Navy, retiring with the rank of Vice-Admiral, and Alfred were born in 1839, 1841 and 1845. The death of Jane Elizabeth in 1841 at the age of nine, the day after her mother's death on April 3, brought a double portion of sorrow into Cardale's life, to disturb the joy produced by his growing family. A

letter to eight-year old Charles from his father in 1849 gives a glimpse into a family where tender affection was the norm and practical goodness sprang from the grace of God:

You must try to be a good boy, and to please God, all your life - and then you will live a happy life because you will be at peace in yourself. The Holy Spirit, whom God has given to you in your baptism, will always comfort you, if you try not to grieve Him. And He will teach you how to please God, and will enable you to follow Jesus Christ and to obey God. 45

Hidden Years (1854-1877)

The remaining twenty-three years of Cardale's life are hidden years. With the opening of the Gordon Square edifice a certain stability came over the Catholic Apostolic Church and Cardale's energies were directed to internal administration as well as to the production of the majority of his printed works,⁴⁶ a task he continued until his death. The deaths of Carlyle and Dow in 1855 and of Perceval in 1859 placed an ever-increasing burden of leadership on the Pillar of Apostles, especially when in 1860 Drummond, his principal collaborator also died. The loss of members in the Apostolic College and the delay in the Final Appearing of the Lord brought misgivings to the faithful which Cardale and others allayed by public⁴⁷ and private

⁴⁵ Letter from John Bate Cardale to Charles Searle Cardale, 2 September 1849.

⁴⁶ See Appendix A.

⁴⁷ Ludwig Albrecht, *The work by Apostles at the end of the*

monitions during the next few years. It also brought Dalton back to the full time exercise of his apostolate and led to the appointment of Apostle's Coadjutors who could during the lifetime of the Apostles carry out apostolic duties. The deaths of Tudor in 1862, of King-Church and Sitwell in 1865 and of Dalton in 1871 reduced the original apostolic band to three, one of whom, Armstrong, was by now an invalid. It was not to be further shattered until Cardale's own death at Albury in 1877 on July 18, four days after being taken ill when in London for the forty-second anniversary of the Separation of the Apostles. Woodhouse was effectively the only Apostle remaining; he became so in fact two years later when Armstrong died.

Woodhouse's *Address on the Death of Mr. Cardale* and his *Narrative of Events* make Cardale's pivotal influence on the Catholic Apostolic Church abundantly plain, even when account is taken of any hagiographical bias. His conspicuous gifts of leadership, arbitration, wisdom, morality, conciliation, scholarship, languages and spirituality, all consecrated to God in the service of the revelation he had received, are made plain. They are confirmed in the history of the movement he headed and in the works he published. It is regrettable that so little of a personal nature remains from which an insight into his character could be obtained. The archives of the Catholic Apostolic Church must contain much

Dispensation, p. 44. John Bate Cardale, *The character of our present testimony and work, Christ's disciples must suffer tribulation.*

material, but these are not open to anyone. In addition, John Bate's own earnest expectation of the Second Coming means that he would have had little interest in leaving records for posterity. His attitude is confirmed on reading his publications: all but a very few are published anonymously. He did not, however, neglect to leave a will, carefully dividing his estate, which was valued at between £20,000 and £25,000 equally between his nine surviving children and his son Edward's widow, Catherine Newton Dowglass, the executors being his son George and Jasper Kenrick Peck.⁴⁸

In addition to his indefatigable labours on behalf of the Catholic Apostolic Church during the years between the opening of the Gordon Square Church and his death, Cardale also had the care of a maturing family. The marriage of Emma Mary Ann, the firstborn, in 1854 to John Barclay, a physician, must have brought great pleasure to her father and mother, a pleasure intensified by the eventual birth of their daughter, Eileen Caroline. Emma Mary Ann, like all her sisters, had a dowry settled upon her by her father who seems to have been particularly helpful to his children and their spouses in getting them established in life. The death of Cardale's eldest son, William Thomas, in 1855 would have brought sadness equal in intensity to the happiness generated by Emma's marriage. For the next six years the affairs of Edward, now the eldest surviving son, would

⁴⁸ Probate of the Will of John Bate Cardale.

have been of great interest to his parents. Edward entered Cardale, Iliffe and Russell as a partner in 1857, shortly thereafter marrying Catherine Newton Dowglass; in 1860 Edward and Catherine presented John Bate and Emma with a grandson, John, and a year later with a granddaughter, Sarah Ellen Plummer. In 1863 John Bate and Edward both withdrew from the law firm, which under the style of Iliffe, Russell and Iliffe, had no Cardale partner until 1877 when George, who was by then the eldest surviving son (Edward having died in 1873), joined the partnership and it became Iliffe, Russell, Iliffe and Cardale. George's death in 1884 ended the connection of the Cardale name with the firm, although as has been mentioned, James Leslie Sweet, the husband of Ellen Caroline Barclay, Cardale's eldest grandchild, joined the firm in 1885 and preserved the family connection through his son, Gerald Herbert Leslie Sweet and John Cyril Leslie Sweet, his grandson, a present partner. Henry, Cardale's fourth son, who followed a naval career, died unmarried in 1865 at the age of thirty, another in the series of deaths which punctuated John Bate's mature life with sorrow. Two marriages took place in 1867 when within three weeks Ellen Plummer married George King-Church and George married Maria Louisa Peck; in the following year Edward and Catherine's third child, Edward Dowglass, was born and George and Maria Louisa had a son, William Henry. Charles Searle was the last of Cardale's sons to marry in his father's lifetime; early in 1869 he married Alice Emma Peck, who at the close of the same year and again in 1871 presented Cardale with two further grandchildren, Alice

Emma Maria and George, respectively, bringing to seven the number of grandchildren Cardale knew and enjoyed in his lifetime.

Although Cardale's duties in connection with the life of the Catholic Apostolic Church were his principal occupation during the last two decades of his life, they did not consume all his time or interest. A clipping from an unidentified provincial newspaper, presumably published at Guildford, noting Cardale's death speaks of

his high qualities and benevolent character, of his kindness and charity and his benign hospitality to those who have so long known and loved him, and held him in such high esteem ... 49

The article then goes on to mention Cardale's long standing interest in the work of the local benefit club of which he acted as Treasurer and his invariable promotion of the work of the Tillingbourne Association at whose annual exhibitions of fruit, flowers and handicrafts he acted as judge. A letter to his son Charles, in reply to an expression of good wishes on Cardale's seventieth birthday, shows a lively interest in national defence and naval affairs (Charles was at the time Executive Officer of H.M.S. Northumberland, one of the Royal Navy's first ironclads) and also indicates that an annual holiday of a month or six weeks at Bath or some similar holiday resort had become part of Cardale's yearly routine.⁵⁰ The strong hand with which the letter is written

49 Family papers in the possession of the Rev. A. M. Cardale.

50 Letter from John Bate Cardale to Charles Searle Cardale, 10 November 1872.

and the style in which it is expressed give no hint of any decline in mental or physical powers. A photograph⁵¹ which must date from about this time confirms this supposition of good health which apparently continued until Cardale suffered the accidental blow on the leg on 13 July 1877 which led to his final short illness.⁵²

It is interesting to note how closely intermarried the families of Catholic Apostolic leaders were: Edward's father-in-law, Thomas Dowglass, was an Angel-Evangelist in the movement, Ellen's husband was a son of the Apostle King-Church, and George, Charles Searle and Christina Louisa all married children of Jasper Peck who served as Apostles' Pastor and was Cardale's executor. Both Peck's father and two of his sons were also Catholic Apostolic ministers. In 1873 Edward died, two days before the death of his mother who had been growing increasingly senile in the months before.

After almost fifty years of marriage, Cardale was now a widower. The remaining four years of his life must have been sad and lonely with nine of his apostolic colleagues, five of his children and his dear wife taken from him by death, although his married children and their offspring would have been a comfort.

⁵¹ I am grateful to the Rt. Rev. L. E. Luscombe and the Rev. W. J. McAusland for making this photograph which formerly hung in the Catholic Apostolic Church (now St. Mary Magdalene's Episcopal Church), Dundee, available to me. It is the only photograph of Cardale which has surfaced during the research for this thesis.

⁵² Family papers in the possession of the Rev. A. M. Cardale.

A generally unfriendly article on Cardale's death which appeared in the *Saturday Review* acknowledged the importance of his leadership and the fact that while technically *primus inter pares* of the restored apostolate he was in truth the backbone and chief ruler of his community, and quotes an incident related by William Grant, author of *Apostolic Lordship* as illustrative of Cardale's iron will and dominating character.

I remember being told some years since by an Irvingite minister how Mr. Cardale at a council of the apostles, when some difference of opinion had been manifested respecting the mode of action proposed by him, taking up his hat, said, 'Well, gentlemen, I leave you; when you see your way to assent to my proposition you may send for me!' He went abroad, but it was not long, as will be imagined by those who know how dependent upon his superior capacity and energy every one had learned to feel, before he was recalled to receive the entire assent of his colleagues to his wishes. 53

This estimate contrasts strikingly with the opinion of Cardale's private and social character in the local newspaper, mentioned earlier. The fact of Grant's critical estimate of the Catholic Apostolic Church as well as the fact that his evidence can only be accepted as hearsay, coupled with what we know of Cardale from his writings and those of authors within the Catholic Apostolic fold, can only lead to the conclusion that this incident is either overdrawn or atypical, although it can serve as a further confirmation of the unique and important central role which

Cardale played in the life of the Catholic Apostolic Church.

Anonymity

Before turning from Cardale's biography to a consideration of his works, the problem of their authorship must be resolved. Nearly all his works are anonymously published; *The Liturgy and other Divine Offices of the Church* has no editor or compiler nor have the *General Rubrics* or *Regulations as to the building and repairing of churches* and their successors.

The bibliographies of Clement Boase published in 1885 and of H. B. Copinger begun in 1908 provide the attribution of Cardale's works, except the Homilies preached at Albury, the Liturgy and the legal works. A letter from the present Catholic Apostolic Librarian summarizes the position:

In the past, it was the policy for all Catholic Apostolic Church ministers to remain anonymous in their writings, whether of books, sermons, pamphlets, etc., and it is only by names pencilled in afterwards, and by comparison with several of the same publication, that identity can be established. To this day, there are many printed sermons, etc., bearing no date, name, or place where preached, and which are likely to remain forever 'anonymous'.

In the case of Mr. Cardale, however, and with most other important ministers, there has never been any doubt as to authorship over the last 140-odd years, so far as I know. 54

The identification of the homilies was obviously accomplished

54 Letter of N. C. Priddle to John Lancaster, 22 February 1977.

by the process described by Mr. Priddle⁵⁵ which has now been reduced to a mimeographed form often obtainable with copies of the work which went through three editions although all but four of the 119 works it contains date from the 1860s. Woodhouse's *Address on the Death of Mr. Cardale* makes plain Cardale's unique role in shaping the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy and *Readings Upon the Liturgy* confirms both Cardale's liturgical prowess and influence on the development of the worship characteristic of the Catholic Apostolic Church. Of the other Apostles, the three clergymen Armstrong, Dalton and Dow, especially the first two who were Anglicans, Tudor and Carlyle who both had linguistic facility, and Drummond who published in 1843 two tracts entitled *Rationale of the Offices and Liturgy of the Church* and *Rationale of the Liturgies and Public Worship*, as well as *Principles of Ecclesiastical Buildings and Ornaments* in 1851, are Cardale's most likely liturgical collaborators, particularly Carlyle and Drummond, but this is pure conjecture inferred from bibliographic evidence.

With regard to the legal works, *Rubrics and Regulations*, the position is not so clear as no references to prove Cardale's authorship or editorial chairmanship are available. It is clear that the Catholic Apostolic Church in both its administrative and liturgical life was highly, almost tightly, regulated. As seven of the Apostles were either lawyers, M.P.s, civil servants or J.P.s, this is not a

⁵⁵ The copy used for this thesis is so marked.

surprising development. Cardale, Carlyle, Woodhouse, Percival, Drummond, King-Church and Sitwell may all have had some hand in drafting various regulations while the three clergymen would probably have had opinions about rubrical matters. It has been suggested that Tudor, as an artist, may have contributed rubrics dealing with the ceremonial and aesthetics of the Liturgy;⁵⁶ having withdrawn so early Mackenzie would have made no contribution. Thus the first edition of the *Rubrics* in 1852 could have been compiled in much the same way as the earlier *Testimonies*. By the time the second edition appeared in 1862 followed by the publication of *Regulations as to the building and repairing of Churches* in 1863, however, only six Apostles were left, two clergymen, two lawyers, a J.P. and a civil servant, and Cardale's responsibility and authority had increased proportionally. John Leslie, son of the Bishop of Kilmore, an Irish barrister, became Cardale's coadjutor in 1865 and he is mentioned as the person who completed the *Rubrics*, and probably the *Regulations* as well, after Cardale's death.⁵⁷ The final edition of both was published in 1878, suggesting that neither Woodhouse nor Armstrong was deeply involved in their compilation as, when leadership passed into their hands, they apparently made no attempt to revise them. No reasonable exception can be taken to the conclusion that

⁵⁶ Letter of K. W. Stevenson to John Lancaster, 4 March 1977.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

Cardale's part in producing the early versions of the *Rubrics* and *Regulations* was at least as great as his part in the production of the *Testimonies*. Moreover, although unproven, it is highly likely, given what we know of his character, that he in fact did compile them or at least set very clear guidelines on the matters of ecclesiastical order and discipline they contain.

Legal Works

The first of the legal works strongly influenced, if not completely drawn up by Cardale, is the first edition of the *General Rubrics* in 1852. A second edition appeared ten years later. In it the two emphases, liturgical direction and institutional regulation, coexist comfortably. In 1863 a small supplementary pamphlet appeared, *Regulations as to the Building and Repairing of Churches*, marking the beginnings of a distinction between the two groups of enactments. This pamphlet together with regulations formerly contained in the *General Rubrics* and fresh material was published as the *Book of Regulations* in 1878; the liturgical directions, expanded and amplified, were again published under the title *General Rubrics* in the same year. The individual directions are numbered consecutively, numbers 1-480 being rubrics and 481-846 regulations. An edition of the two volumes for the Tribe of Scotland was also produced, in which production the Apostle Carlyle had a hand. If editions were produced for any other tribes, copies have not yet turned up.

The ceremonial directions of the *General Rubrics* are

now the only way an outsider has of entering into the spirit of the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy and of understanding its order and beauty, unless he is fortunate enough to have contact with one of the dwindling number of members of the church whose memory has not been dimmed by the passage of time. Knowing the relative positions, movements and gestures of those involved in the various services, as well as the vesture in which they appeared before God, the printed words of the Liturgy take on a richer significance and it is possible to reconstruct a service in the mind's eye. The directions are in themselves unexceptional. They simply lay down a straightforward way of executing the worship of Almighty God with readiness and decency. To an outsider, especially one not concerned with the production of public performances of any kind, they may seem unnecessarily fulsome. It would not, however, occur to those professionally involved in the organization and execution of public worship to make such a criticism, for directions of the exactitude of those provided in the *General Rubrics* are a necessity if unseemly chaos is to be avoided.

The rules governing the organization of the Catholic Apostolic Church as an institution contained in the *Book of Regulations*, are like the *Rubrics*, about the only way an outsider can glean some knowledge of the internal life of the group. Fortunately, some copies have slipped into private hands; without them any knowledge about the organization and workings of the church, except the most superficial, would be a matter of conjecture.

The secrecy with which the government of the Catholic Apostolic Church is surrounded is no accident. Regulation 757, *On the custody of church papers*, deals fully with the problems of retaining title of and prohibiting access to internal correspondence and confidential publications, as well as securing real and moveable church property from disposition at the whim of individual ministers. All ministers are to impress all records, papers and documents which they issue with a stamp bearing the words "Church Property." They are also required to sign a declaration of trust undertaking to deliver on demand all papers, letters and documents received in their official capacity. Furthermore

Every minister who by virtue of his office is or may become possessed of important Church papers or documents, is advised also to provide, by will or codicil, or in some other effectual way, for the delivery of such papers or documents (in the event of his death) to the proper custody; and in cases in which the executors named in his will are of a different faith, or from other causes likely to prove obstructive, it will be prudent for every such minister also to name an executor with power limited to securing and taking charge of all documents apparently official. 58

Forms of clauses which could be inserted into a will or codicil to assure the fulfilment of these requirements are subsequently provided. Cardale's own will contains such a provision in its opening clauses, although not expressed

58 *Book of Regulations*, (London, Strangeways, 1878), no. 757, p. 104. I am grateful to Dr. K. W. Stevenson for making his copy of the *Regulations* available to me.

in the precise words suggested.⁵⁹ Angels, Elders and Seven-Deacons of every congregation or such other persons under whose control church property real or moveable may come from time to time must sign a declaration vesting full control over consecrated buildings, furnishings and other articles of value in the Seven-Deacons of the Universal Church.⁶⁰

Careful provision is made for the trial of ministers against whom some offence is alleged. The accused must be given due notice, a copy of the charges, general notice of the evidence to be adduced, copies of any written evidence to be produced, and the names of witnesses. The judges in law and fact are two or more ministers equal in rank to the accused, but their findings must be attested by the Apostle and any judgement involving removal from office must be confirmed by him.⁶¹ A Seven-Deacon, one of the group in each congregation acting in a fiduciary capacity, automatically vacates his office on becoming bankrupt.⁶²

The high degree of organization in the Catholic Apostolic Church is indicative of both tight Apostolic control and also thorough pastoral care. No less than nineteen registers are required to be kept in every fully-organized congregation.⁶³

⁵⁹ Probate of the Will of John Bate Cardale.

⁶⁰ *Regulations*, no. 757, pp. 105, 108-111.

⁶¹ *Regulations*, no. 638-642, pp. 55-58.

⁶² *Regulations*, no. 643, p. 58.

⁶³ *Regulations*, no. 611-650, pp. 41-61.

An Apostle on a formal visitation could thus very quickly ascertain the state of the particular church. In addition to the keeping of registers, regular reports are received from deacons and deaconesses (to whom the work of pastoral visitation and care is principally committed - a priest is properly consulted at the church, although he will make house calls in cases of sickness, confinement, death or other emergency) by the Seven-Deacon over them, who then makes his report to the Elder. After receiving the reports of the Prophet, Evangelist and Pastor of the congregation, the Elder reports to the Angel once a quarter. The Angel likewise sends a quarterly report to the Apostle.⁶⁴ Thus the Apostles had constant knowledge of the life of the Church right down to the grass roots which enabled them to exercise their supervisory function with great effectiveness.

As already noted, the pastoral visitation of the faithful was primarily a diaconal responsibility. Nevertheless, regulations 497-513 make clear the particular responsibility of each of the orders of ministers in making themselves and their ministrations available to their flock. The Angel's task is primarily supervisory; he "ordinarily does not come into communication with the lay members of his charge, except through the priests and deacons to whose immediate care he has committed them ..."⁶⁵ Nevertheless, he is not

⁶⁴ *Regulations*, no. 514-516, p. 9.

⁶⁵ *Regulations*, no. 500, p. 5.

totally remote for

the Angel ought, at stated periods, at least once in every year, to invite each member of the flock to confer with him directly and alone, and to receive his benediction. These interviews should take place within the precincts of the church.

66

Although the priests functioning as pastors will have the immediate and constant care of individuals, each of the faithful has both the freedom and the responsibility to seek the ministrations of evangelists, prophets and elders at least once a year.⁶⁷ Each priest is assigned special published hours when he is to sit in the church and be available for consultation.⁶⁸ In addition to this spontaneous access to the ministry, every communicant member in good standing is once a year to appear before priests of the four ministries sitting together "so that each may be brought under their cognizance."⁶⁹ The Angel is to take pastoral charge of all his priests and to make special arrangements for the care of their families.⁷⁰ Teen-age children, especially those nearing the age of twenty when they could receive the Laying on of Apostle's Hands or Sealing, are the particular care of a priest-evangelist.⁷¹

66 *Ibid.*

67 *Regulations*, no. 502, 503, p. 6.

68 *Regulations*, no. 510, p. 8.

69 *Regulations*, no. 504, p. 6.

70 *Regulations*, no. 505, p. 7.

71 *Regulations*, no. 507, p. 7.

In order that the habit of pastoral consultation be early inculcated, regulation 508 directs that "The children should be brought by their parents at an early age for blessing and counsel, that they may be encouraged to resort to him at a later period."⁷²

The regulations governing architectural matters including the building and repair of churches⁷³ are framed to ensure that not only is the building suitable for congregational worship but also to avoid the pitfalls of enthusiastic planning involving excessive expenditure or hasty action which might later be regretted. The caution they display reflects a keen knowledge of the foibles of well-meaning but irresponsible enthusiasts. The regulations regarding tithes and offerings⁷⁴ reflect a high degree of financial commitment from members of the Church in their offering of tithes (which are strongly recommended to all, but not absolutely required), 'first fruits' (the first year's income of property accruing to an individual through the bounty of non-relations) and thank offerings (for childbirth, Sealing, Ordination, etc.) as well as special offerings (on the three great festivals, 14 July, and All Saints) and offerings for the maintenance of public worship. Those ministers who receive payment for their services from the funds of the Church are in no sense benefitting from a

⁷² *Regulations*, p. 7.

⁷³ *Regulations*, no. 758-808, pp. 111-127.

⁷⁴ *Regulations*, no. 823-846, pp. 132-137.

contractual agreement.

All ministers who receive portions from tithes or offerings receive the same as gifts or benefices from God to facilitate their labours, not as stipends to which they are in any way entitled, nor as payments by the people. Such portions are paid in advance, and do not entitle the ministers receiving them to make a claim for the continuance of these payments. The service which ministers render is not given in return for any such benefice: ministerial service is a duty binding upon them independently of any payment. All ministers are required to sign a declaration, by which they acknowledge that they recognize this principle, and are bound by it.

75

Typology

Cardale and his circle were largely products of the twilight of the Evangelical revival and thus the role of the holy Scriptures in setting ecclesiastical norms was of prime importance, although they had to play their part hand in hand with the Creeds and Apostolic Ministry as well. The Albury Apostles were apparently not concerned with textual criticism of the Scriptures - certainly Cardale's biblical commentaries make no references to such problems - and the science of higher criticism did not emerge until after the death of the Apostle Woodhouse. The view thus held of the nature of biblical inspiration by Cardale and his colleagues is strictly literalist, but the perils of absolute literalism are avoided by the application of three further principles: revelation, futurism and typology.

Natural religion, principles which can be discovered by the application of the mental processes of discursive thought, being essentially philosophical rather than theological, had no appeal to Cardale. Theological truth is revealed by God as a gift to faithful men. Cardale believed that the keys to the meaning of human history, especially in the present dispensation of the restoration of the apostolate, were to be found in the prophetic and apocalyptic portions of Scripture; and that led to a futurist interpretation of Old Testament Prophecy. Thus he interpreted the three epochs into which the restoration of Jerusalem described in Ezra-Nehemiah can be divided as prophetic of the three stages of spiritual work involved in the restoration of the apostolate.⁷⁶ Futurism with regard to the interpretation of historical events becomes typology when applied to legal, ceremonial and architectural matters.

Cardale's "Dissertation upon the Types of Law" in the first volume of the *Readings upon the Liturgy* is a 60,000 word essay devoted to nothing else but an exposition, on typological principles, of the Mosaic Tabernacle, its ministry, rites and ceremonies. A single example gives the flavour of the whole.

We have seen that in the Most Holy Place were contained the types of all those spiritual ministrations and ordinances by which it is God's purpose to maintain the Church in her spiritual standing, and

⁷⁶ John Bate Cardale, *Notes of lectures delivered in the Seven Churches in London*, rev. ed. (London, 1860), a mimeographed reprint, p. 1-12.

of the grace ministered by them, and of the spiritual attainments which result from them.

We have seen that the Cherubim were prefigurative of the Ministry of true apostleship and prophetic revelation; and that the Tables of Stone, the Pot of Manna, and the Rod which budded, severally included in the Ark, or laid up before it, were the types of grace respectively brought to the Church through the true and spiritual reception of those principal ordinances to which they are to be typically referred - namely the holy Scriptures in the hands of the Apostles, stewards of God's mysteries; the holy Eucharist, committed in its institution to the stewardship of Apostles; and the rite for imparting the gift of the Holy Ghost, restricted in its administration to Apostles through the laying on of their hands. 77

At the same time it is clearly understood that the worship and organization of the Church are not founded on the Mosaic model, nor are they a continuation of what the Law established. The authority of the Mosaic Law has passed. The forms of worship prescribed by the Law for the Children of Israel are however prophetic and prefigurative types of the mysteries celebrated in the Christian Church. The Levitical rites and sacrifices were ordained as typifying and prefiguring the work of Christ in all its fullness; Christian rites are ordained to carry out the same work in the Church, the Body of Christ in the world. The Old Testament rites are the types, antitypes are the rites of the New Dispensation.

The true antitypes, therefore, of the material things under the Law are not material things, which, when employed, are used subordinately; but the mysterious operations of the Holy Ghost, expressed in reasonable words and reasonable actions: so that they

who are the subjects of these operations are not only spiritually conscious of them, but 'their understandings also' become 'fruitful'. and their reasonable faculties and their bodily members are employed in all the holy exercises of true and spiritual worship. 78

The distinction drawn by Cardale between type and anti-type pervades all Catholic Apostolic literature, especially that dealing with liturgical matters. Because of the pervasiveness of the typological principle, its application becomes tiresome, if not downright irritating, especially so after three-quarters of a century's progress in hermeneutics of greater sophistication. For Cardale, however, typology was an escape from absolute biblicism without abandoning a belief in the literal infallibility of the Scriptures. By its means, all the characteristic Catholic Apostolic teaching on the restoration of the apostolate and its three associated ministries, all the particular shaping of the Catholic Apostolic Eucharist and its setting, and all the peculiarly Catholic Apostolic rites like Proposition and Sealing are established and justified.

CHAPTER THREESOME THEOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF READINGS UPON THE LITURGY¹

John Bate Cardale was not a systematic theologian. *Readings upon the Liturgy* is, however, his most extensive theological work; in it he has the space to develop theological themes, which was denied him in his other publications by their comparative brevity. A work of over 1000 pages in two volumes, it was first published in seven parts between 1849 and 1878. It appears that it was the result of two periods of creative activity: 1849 to 1852 when the sections on the Types of the Law, the Eucharist, the Daily Offices and on Holy Days and Seasons were published, and 1874 to Cardale's death in 1877 when the portions on Baptism, Sealing and Ordination were produced. After 1877 Cardale's projected collection of the work into two volumes was completed, although the final treatise on Ordination was left in the unfinished state in which it was found after the author's death.

Cardale's theology is liturgically centered. Without worship theology would be nothing; with theology worship is enriched. He states his aim clearly in the preface to the first volume.

The object of these Readings is to enter upon an examination of the 'Book of the Liturgy and other Divine Offices of the

¹ I am grateful to the Rev. Michael Birch for making his copy of this scarce work available to me.

Church'; the construction and mutual relation of the several Offices; the uses or ends for which they are intended; the language employed in the same; and the principal topics and doctrines involved therein. The result we shall aim at will be to convey explanation and instruction; that we may all, in offering up to Almighty God the continual worship of the Church, know what we are about, and worship not only with the spirit, but also with the understanding ... 2

Never aiming to be original, Cardale always wants to be orthodox. In the aspects studied, of necessity Cardale's theological peculiarities become apparent but they should not be considered as vitiating his essential orthodoxy. His theological positions are always biblically justified though he is no mere biblicist. He believed he was a Catholic in the full sense of the term. With the Scriptures as his foundation, he subscribed wholeheartedly to the Nicene, Apostles' and Athanasian creeds as received by the Church, he participated fully in the worship of the Church set in order by the Apostles and he upheld staunchly the ministry of bishops, priests and deacons as essential to the life of the Church.

The Incarnation

Edward Irving, having been found guilty of allowing unauthorized persons to interrupt the public services of his congregation with pentecostal outbursts, was deprived of his church by the London Presbytery in the spring of

² John Bate Cardale, *Readings upon the Liturgy*, (London, Pitman, 1878), vol. I, p. 1. Subsequent references to this work are designated as RL and are placed directly in the text.

1832. Two years later he was on trial before his home Presbytery of Annan on the more serious charge of heresy regarding our Lord's Incarnation. Irving was charged with holding the sinfulness of Christ's humanity out of his insistence on the reality of the Incarnation. Irving's point was

whether during His life it was one with us in all its infirmities and liabilities to temptation, or whether, by the miraculous generation, it underwent a change so as to make it a different body from the rest of the brethren. They argue for an identity of origin merely; we argue for an identity of life also. They argue for an inherent holiness; we argue for a holiness maintained by the person of the Son, through the operation of the Holy Ghost. 3

Apart from the Presbyterian John McLeod Campbell and the Unitarian James Martineau, who only dealt with the subject in an incidental way, Irving was the single notable English-speaking theologian to wrestle with the problems of Christology in the first third of the nineteenth century. He was the principal representative of what may be called the anthropocentric school of Christological construction. While the origins of this school may be seen as far back as the beginning of the eighteenth century, the German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) is generally regarded as its founder. He and his rival Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) and their disciples undertook the quest for an historic Jesus as the basis for their

3 G. Carlyle, ed., *The Collected Writings of Edward Irving*, (London, Strahan, 1865), vol. V, p. 566.

Christology. The most radical, Hegel and his followers, held that historic facts about Jesus were less important than religious concepts represented by Christ; less radical theologians following Schleiermacher used the results of historical investigation as well as human religious experience as their theological starting points.

To ordinary clergy, who had not made a careful study of the subject, any theologian beginning from the anthropocentric side would automatically be identified with the worst aspects of 'foreign' theology. Because many German theologians following Hegel would deny they were Christians, anyone like Irving who appeared to be a theological radical would be suspect. The old theocentric starting point which began with a consideration not of the man Jesus but of the Eternal Word of God, the Second Person of the Trinity, being familiar was much more to their liking. Those with theocentric preferences were probably unaware that their premise contained the seeds of Docetism, a heresy Irving was trying passionately to avoid, and one just as abhorrent as the essentially Unitarian theories of radical Germany.

The combination of a misunderstanding of German theology, a determination to construe Irving's position in the least favourable light and probably a good deal of plain jealousy of a local boy who had made good as a famous preacher led the country ministers and elders of Annan Presbytery to convict Irving and depose him from the ministry eleven years after they had ordained him to that sacred office.

Cardale, as a disciple of Irving, was at one with his

mentor in his characteristic expression of the utter reality of our Saviour's identification with the human race. After supporting Irving in his first legal battle and doubtless following with professional interest the events leading to Irving's second trial and deposition, Cardale can hardly have been unaware of the difficulties involved in Irving's formulation of this truth. Yet in his own writings he is generally content merely to restate Irving, making only a single and rather unsatisfactory attempt to come to grips with the problem of reconciling on the one hand Christ's oneness with us in the moral struggle and on the other the knowledge of the perfection of his being. After following Irving consistently, in a single passage Cardale tries to avoid the problem by explaining that our fallen nature was sanctified before our Lord assumed it because the sacrifice which sanctified that nature

was fore-ordained of God and undertaken by Christ before the foundation of the world; and therefore it was effectual to remove that pollution of our nature, which otherwise would have made it impossible that the Son of God should become Incarnate in it.
(RL, II, p. 374.)

Cardale seems to mean that Christ's nature while free from the stain of original sin was nevertheless subject to the consequences of original sin.

Less ingenious and more satisfying solutions to the problem are possible as both F. D. Maurice and H. R. Mackintosh have shown. Maurice finds his by denying the belief that the infection of nature which we derive from Adam is a departure from original righteousness. "This original right-

eousness stands, and has always stood, in Christ the Son of God, and in Him only."⁴ Mackintosh rejects the proposition that only a fallen human nature can be tempted, and draws a distinction between "corrupt" and "corruptible" human nature, denying that simply because Christ was liable to decay and death his humanity was fallen.⁵

That Cardale should have followed Irving so closely in this matter is important for four reasons. First it represented a change in direction for Cardale's theological thought. Before transferring his allegiance to Irving's congregation, he had attended St. John's Bedford Row which was presided over by one of the leading Evangelical churchmen of the day, Baptist Noel. Since its origins in the eighteenth century, Evangelicalism had laid special stress on the Atonement as the central Christian doctrine and evangelical preachers constantly emphasized the necessity of personal conversion and of faith in the atoning death of Christ as the source of personal salvation. In his exposition of the Nicene Creed in *Readings upon the Liturgy*, he makes plain his belief that the Incarnation rather than the Atonement is the central doctrine of Christianity:

These words, "God was made Man", beyond, perhaps, any other article of faith, call for implicit acquiescence and the renunciation of curiosity and inquisitive reasoning.

⁴ Frederick Maurice, ed., *The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice*, (London, Macmillan, 1884), vol. II, p. 408.

⁵ H. R. Mackintosh, *The doctrine of the person of Jesus Christ*, (2nd ed.; Edinburgh, Clark, 1913), p. 278.

They demand, indeed, that we should keep silence, and wonder and adore. They enunciate a fact which is the very foundation and keystone of our faith, and of all the dealings of God with man. Any error here will run like a subtle poison through the whole compass of our thoughts about God and His dealings with man. Upon the accuracy of our conceptions on this point depend all right apprehensions, all true and accurate thoughts concerning the Church, the sacraments of the Church, the mode wherein God's grace is ministered unto us, and the future condition of ourselves and of all created things in the world to come. (RL, I, p. 98)

It is not evident here whether Cardale discourages speculation on this doctrine because he has seen the havoc such reflection has brought and wants to avoid it, or whether he sees it an an essential mystery. It is, however, clear that the reconciliation of God and man, and the Church as the latter day vehicle of that reconciliation, spring from Christ who although personally sinless endured to the uttermost the penalty due to fallen human nature.

It is interesting to note the paucity of references to the Atonement in *Readings upon the Liturgy*. What references there are make plain that Cardale held the general Scholastic theory that Christ was the perfect substitute for mankind who was offered to God in order to satisfy the Father's justice and to vindicate the Father's righteousness; at the same time Cardale expressly rejects the exemplarist theory of Abelard as an adequate explanation of the Atonement. (RL, II, pp. 270-274)

Second, Cardale's precise following of Irving's theories of the Incarnation and Cardale's view of the pivotal importance of the doctrine, are a strong justification for those

who referred to the members of the Catholic Apostolic Church as 'Irvingites', an appellation which they themselves abhor. At the same time it is only fair to say that other aspects of Cardale's thought and of Catholic Apostolic practice in liturgical matters owe nothing to Irving.

Third, Cardale's doctrine of the Incarnation gave him a means of interpreting the Circumcision, Presentation and Baptism of our Lord as a fulfilment of the Old Law. Until Jesus was circumcised and subsequently presented in the Temple, the rites involved were mere external ceremonies. The rite of Circumcision involved the submission of man to God's Laws and that of Presentation involved redemption by man of the first-born male who properly belonged to God.

The Law waited for this Mother and this Child: it had remained unfulfilled, except in the mere outward observation of the letter, until they presented themselves. Now it is proved to be spiritual, and to have its true application as a spiritual law to the condition of the inward man...
(RL, II, p. 40)

In seeking the baptism of repentance at the hands of John the Baptist, Jesus who has committed no sin identifies himself with the consequences of sin by joining on the banks of the Jordan with those whose flesh and temptations he shares in order 'to fulfil all righteousness'. (RL, II, p. 32).

Finally, this vivid emphasis on the reality of Christ's subjection to temptation and moral struggle and his absolute success in not succumbing to sin become an equally real ground of hope which can be held out to the faithful in their daily struggle with the world, the flesh and the

devil. The strong moral emphasis in Cardale's sermons, especially those to the young, will be observed later. In *Readings upon the Liturgy*, this emphasis is clearly grounded upon the fact of the Incarnation as expressed in Hebrews 2:14, 16-18, and 7:16, 24-25. Taking on himself the seed of Abraham and being made in all things like his brethren, Christ is able to succour the tempted.

And this is the ground of our confidence before God, that, although Christ be very God, yet He hath become capable, through the manhood which He hath assumed, of suffering pain and undergoing death; and that, being God and Man, He is the very Mediator between God and Man. He became man for our *salvation*: and therefore, having died for our sins, he remains Man for ever, and hath obtained an unchangeable priesthood after the power of an endless life, whereby he is able to *save* to the uttermost those who come to God by Him. (RL, I, p. 99).

Ecclesiology

O merciful God, look down upon Thy desolate heritage, upon Thy scattered and divided people. Heal the schisms of the Churches; put away all heresies from among them; and cleanse Thy Sanctuary from all defilement of superstition, will-worship and infidelity. O God, Thou dost rebuild Thy holy altar, giving Thine apostles to minister before Thee, as in the beginning Thou didst commit this ministry unto them. We beseech Thee, therefore, strengthen the things which remain, and are ready to die; send forth Thine apostles to minister the fullness of the Gospel; and grant unto all that seek Thee the joy and comfort of the Holy Ghost, and unto Thy whole Church unity and peace. 6

⁶ *The Liturgy and Other Divine Offices of the Church*, (London, Strangeways and Walden, 1869), p. 36.

This prayer, "For the low estate of the Church," is unique to the Liturgy of the Catholic Apostolic Church. Composed by Cardale, it sums up admirably his doctrine of the Church. In the nineteenth century, the broken unity of the Church was apparent to anyone who took the trouble to look. Small sects were springing up, Independents, Methodists, and Baptists were finding the bond of unity difficult to obtain or strengthen, Anglicans, Presbyterians and Romans were rent with internal struggles. As well as the obvious disunity in and between the Churches at home, there was also the great schism between the Eastern and Western Church which had persisted for eight centuries.

Although imperfect in its manifestation of the four notes of the Church - unity, holiness, catholicity and apostolicity - Cardale does not deny their continued existence in the Church of his day, although he would deny the possibility of the effective renewal of the Church, except under one condition. That condition, to which he constantly refers, is the restoration of the divinely appointed apostolate "sent forth from Christ immediately, and without the intervention of men". (RL, I, p. 117) These latter day apostles called and separated to their high office by the Spirit through the ministry of prophets have allowed the restoration of the original and unchanging constitution of the Body of Christ. They are the proper instruments for exercising governance over all the members of the church, for ministering the Spirit in all his fulness to the faithful and for preserving the unity of the Church from

disintegration. As Cardale does not believe that bishops as they exist in the Church in either East or West are properly successors to The Apostles, this lack in the structure of the Church becomes the justification for the independent existence of the Catholic Apostolic Church.

This explains, indeed, why God should have seen it necessary to separate us, not from His Church, but from existing congregations. It was, that He might revive among us the ministries of His Church and the true forms of worship: and in doing this, He has enabled us to take a larger view, and to acquire a more distinct apprehension of the existing evils which he seeks to subdue and eradicate.

(RL, I, p. 182)

The restoration of the Apostolate, not by men but by God, also proves the validity of Catholic Apostolic orders. The Apostles have received their own divine appointment, and the validity of any succession stemming from the imposition of their hands cannot be questioned unless the reality of their call and separation to apostolic office be called into question - which only unbelieving outsiders would do.

Cardale's doctrine of the Church is chiefly characterized by inconsistency. While regularly using the metaphor of the Body of Christ⁷ to express its organic and interdependent nature, he nevertheless acts as the principal

⁷ Just as Christ is the heavenly type of the Church, so the earthly type is the Blessed Virgin Mary. In commenting on the Magnificat, Cardale says, "In this hymn, the Blessed Virgin, in expressing the joy of her own heart, her faith, her meek and humble trust, hath been led to speak in such terms, as unconsciously to herself to develop her own character as the type of the elect people of God in all generations, and especially of the holy Church which is the hope of the world in this coming Dispensation." (RL, I, pp. 531-532.)

agent in establishing a Christian community which is separate from the Established Church of his land, the Roman Catholic Church, the Eastern Orthodox Church and any recognized Reformed Communion. His view of the Catholic Apostolic Church as a leavening influence standing in the same relation to the Universal Church as a religious order might stand in relation to the Roman or Anglican Communions is illuminating in terms of understanding the mission of the Albury Apostles and their Church, but it cannot be given serious credence because none of the other churches in any way recognized the Catholic Apostolic Church, its claims or its mission. Cardale is a High Churchman who has rejected the Church. While denying the universal authority of the Pope, he does not shrink from asserting the absolute primacy of the Catholic Apostolic Apostles, of which he was chief and certainly the most influential, in the government of the people subject to them. While claiming authority over all the peoples of the world by assigning the various nations to Tribes, each under the care of an apostle, in reality the Catholic Apostolic Church was a gathered church, the very antithesis of catholicism. It has a catholic hierarchy of angels, priests and deacons, but a diocesan system does not exist; the new angels are really the old Presbyterian minister writ large with his elders and other assistants. Although the new church claimed to be inspired and guided by the Holy Spirit, the heavy hand of tradition mediated by the Albury Apostles discouraged if not extinguished the spontaneity

and freshness which characterized the early Church and indeed all significant revivals of life in the Church. This is perhaps the most disturbing aspect of Cardale's ecclesiology. Although he is willing to describe the Church in organic terms as the Body of Christ, he denies the Body as an organization the power or possibility of growth or change.

The Church, then, which was constituted in Christ and brought into existence and manifestation on the day of Pentecost, is an organized Body, of which, as we are taught in Scripture, the human body is an apt figure and illustration. It was created in Christ Jesus by the Holy Ghost: in him it consists and abides. To Him personally this Body belongs. It is constituted in all its parts, in infinite wisdom, according to the eternal purpose of God in Christ. It is therefore perfect, and incapable, as an organization of improvement or of change.
(RL, II, p. 405)

On this view the Church is not a living body but a mummified corpse, its purpose antiquarian and its ministers custodians. In actual fact while the Catholic Apostolic Church flourished, this was not so. Clear evidence exists of its congregational vitality and of clerical zeal. Yet the seeds of its own destruction lay within and were germinated by the death of the Apostles, the only ministers with power to ordain angels or priests. Since they could not be replaced, an inexorable process of dissolution set in, the sorry consequences of which we see today. The vision of corporate unity and peace which Cardale hoped the Catholic Apostolic Church would, with God's grace, foster if not achieve, was not realized. The contribution

of the Catholic Apostolic Church to ecumenism is one of mere theory with no practical results.

The Ministry

To the outsider, one of the most obvious differentiating characteristics of the Catholic Apostolic Church is its elaborately organized hierarchy of angels, priests and deacons, each with their coadjutors or 'helps' exercising the fourfold ministry of rule or apostleship, prophecy, evangelism and pastoral care. Cardale justifies this superstructure (for it could mean in an ideal congregation of 500-600 families a ministerial staff of 64 - an angel, twenty-four priests: six elders, six prophets, six evangelists and six pastors, as well as seven deacons, each with an assistant, not to mention underdeacons and deaconesses) with the maxim "Mediation is an universal principle of the Divine Government." (RL, II, p. 536)

Cardale's doctrine of the ministry is based upon St. Paul's teaching in Ephesians 4:7-14, in which the ascended Christ sends in his stead apostles, prophets, evangelists and pastors to his Church for its edification and perfection. This is the means whereby Christ's own multifold ministry which he took up at the behest of the Father is to be continued. Christ is the typical apostle, sent forth from the Father by the Holy Ghost, making himself known to the disciples, proclaiming the gospel of God's kingdom and revealing God's love. Christ is the archetypal evangelist, convincing men of sin, receiving sinners to

himself, and by warning and exhortation keeping them from wandering from the straight and narrow way leading to the heavenly inheritance. In revealing the treasures of God's word and the mysteries of his kingdom and guiding his disciples to a saving knowledge of the Trinity, Christ is the archetypal prophet. In feeding his sheep daily with wholesome doctrine, in shielding them from the manifold assaults of the Devil and his angels, and above all in feeding and nourishing them with his own Body and Blood Christ is the typical pastor.

These same ministries must, in Cardale's theology, be found in the Church if it is to be properly constituted.

All the four, we say, are necessary to the full development of the ministry of the Holy Ghost in the Church. All the four must be exercised by men, ordained and sent forth by God and His Christ; whether they be ordained and sent forth immediately as are Apostles, or whether they receive their ordination from God and Christ, through the instrumentality of Apostles. For, as we have already seen, the Church is an organized Body, the Body of Christ, who ministers His Spirit to the members through men ordained and set in their places by Him.
(RL, II, pp. 493-494)

The Apostles are the keystone of the ministry for on them all other ministries depend for authorization and ordination. Cardale's account of the growth of the ministry identifies the appointment of the Seventy by our Lord in Luke 10:1 as his provision not just for the immediate mission on which they were sent, but also as his designation of those who were fit to be received by the Apostles as fellow labourers and subsequently ordained to exercise

those aspects of the apostolic ministry which were capable of delegation.

These Seventy were no doubt those apostolical men of whom we read in early writings, and whom the Apostles at a later time employed among the Churches with delegated powers from themselves, and subsequently set as Angels and Bishops of the Churches. (RL, II, p. 502)

This explanation allows for the preservation of the unique status of The Apostles while at the same time explaining the growth of the episcopate and defining its relationship to the apostolate. The diaconate is derived from the account of the choice of the seven deacons in Acts 6:1-6 as apostolic assistants. The need for the direct pastoral care of members of the church by clergy not charged with the oversight of the church at large coupled with the conversion of Jewish priests as mentioned in Acts 6:7 who would already be conversant with priestly duties and responsibilities is given as the basis for the establishment by The Apostles of the order of priesthood. This precedent established in the nascent Church in Jerusalem eventually led, as the mission of the Church expanded, to the establishment of regular hierarchies of bishops, priests and deacons in various centres, while The Apostles remained at Jerusalem as overseers of the Church at large.

Having been brought up as an Anglican and living in the days before the modern investigation into the nature, establishment and growth of the ministry, Cardale would have agreed wholeheartedly with the famous opening sentence in the Anglican Ordinal: 'It is evident to all men diligently

reading holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church: Bishops, Priests and Deacons.' Certainly his unfinished treatises on Ordination in *Readings upon the Liturgy* can be taken as an attempt to demonstrate the truth of the statement, first from biblical and then from patristic evidence. He is unsuccessful for three reasons. First he attributes to the New Testament accounts more clarity than they in fact contain. The offices of bishop and presbyter are not clearly distinguished in the New Testament; the word ἐπίσκοπος does not denote an office, but a person, most often what today would be called a priest, exercising ἐπισκοπή or pastoral oversight. Second, although familiar with early patristic writings on the ministry by SS. Clement, Cyprian and Ignatius, the Apostolic Constitutions and the *Decretum Gelasianum*, Cardale ignores the very strong emphasis in their teaching (extending as far back as the end of the First Century) that bishops are the successors to The Apostles in function in commission, in possession of particular sees and in inheriting the inward empowering of the Holy Ghost for their office. While Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism may have episcopacy, Cardale believes they are defective as churches because they lack apostolicity. This situation is inevitable in Cardale's theology for apostles, being divinely appointed and holding their office of supreme charge and governance over the whole Church directly from Christ cannot confer on others by human means what they

have received after a heavenly fashion. (RL, II, p. 418)

Third, Cardale's view ignores the fact that Christ's apostles were not simply chosen to be with him but were also by him commissioned and sent out with the Gospel-message, not created princes of the church charged with its universal oversight and governance.

When a candidate is ordained to one of the three orders of ministry - angel, presbyter or deacon - he is also assigned to a particular 'border' or function within the fourfold ministry. All apostles are in angels' orders, but other angels serve as prophets, evangelists and pastors, the latter being the principal officers in established local congregations. Similarly a presbyter may be assigned to act as an elder (the expression of the apostolic function in his inferior order) associated with the Angel in ruling a local church, or serve as a prophet, evangelist or pastor within his congregation. Such an assignment is made on the basis of each individual priest's capacity for spiritual work. (RL, II, pp. 547-552) Similarly there is a fourfold division of the diaconal ministry, in superintending the financial matters of the particular church (the expression of rulership in this order), in assisting with the organization and leadership of worship including its more spontaneous aspects (the prophetic element), in bringing those outside the Church to Christ (the evangelistic aspect) and in visiting members of the flock (the pastoral function). (RL, II, pp. 523, 525)

In addition, the *Regulations* make provision for the

election of underdeacons to assist the members of the diaconate in liturgical functions as well as with pastoral concern. Although not in the ranks of the sacred ministry, underdeacons are often candidates for ordination. Deaconesses, who correspond to underdeacons rather than to deacons proper, are the only female ministry. The deaconess possesses no original or independent jurisdiction. For her office does not "constitute a distinct order in the church, nor does she cease to be of the laity, or become entitled to precedence over any of the ministers of the Church."⁸ She is under the immediate jurisdiction of the priest or deacon whom she assists in ministering to female members of the congregation, especially those where the visitation of a man would be unwelcome or indecorous.

As ordination by an Apostle is the *sine qua non* of a fully valid ministry, it was inevitable that after the death of Apostle Francis V. Woodhouse in 1901 the Catholic Apostolic Church should enter into its decline, a decline which is now virtually complete. Their millennial hope that the parousia would occur before the extinction of the apostolic college was never fulfilled and the remaining members of the faithful must now wait in silent and non-sacramental expectation for the Lord to reveal his will. This aspect of Cardale's theology contradicts his catholic leanings and fidelity to scripture. He clearly approved of

⁸ *General Rubrics*, (London, Strangeways and Walden, 1862), p. 81.

the filling by the Apostles of Judas' place by St. Matthias (RL, II, p. 518) and recognized the validity of St. Paul's apostleship (and, by implication, that of St. Barnabas as well). (RL, II, pp. 577- 580) Cardale does distinguish, however, between the apostleships to the Jews and to the gentiles; SS. Paul and Barnabas were of the latter, not the former. On the basis of the four and twenty elders seated on the two dozen thrones around the throne of God in Revelation 4:4, indicative of a twelve-fold apostolate to the Jews and a similar twelve-fold apostolate to the gentiles, he justifies the impossibility of adding to the twelve who were separated in 1835. (RL, I, pp. 320-321) Just where this places Paul and Barnabas is not made clear; consistency with his theory would seem to demand the separation of only ten latter day Apostles.

It cannot be explained on catholic grounds why Cardale thought that the millennial expectation of the Albury Apostles and their followers was so much more intense than that of the first Apostles that it precluded following the example of the original twelve in filling up their number (as in the case of Duncan Mackenzie's defection in 1840) or in adding to their number when circumstances required. It is an attitude characteristic of sectarian conservatism.⁹

⁹ Clark, Elmer T., *The small sects in America*, (Nashville, Cokesbury, 1937), p. 277. This book clearly demonstrates the affinities the Catholic Apostolic Church had with sectarian rather than denominational Christianity. See also R. K. James, "The Catholic Apostolic Church: a study in diffused commitment", *A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in Britain* 5, ed. Michael Hill, (London, SCM, 1972), pp. 148-149.

The present day existence of the New Apostolic Church in Germany and America which broke with the Catholic Apostolic Church over this very issue in 1860 is but a single example of the lack of reality in Cardale's system.

Christian Initiation

The pentecostal theology of Edward Irving, which recognized the manifestation of the gifts of the Spirit, in particular the gifts of tongues, of interpretation and of prophecy, clearly influenced Cardale. As we have seen, it was owing to a disagreement with Baptist Noel, Cardale's Anglican clergyman, over the authenticity of the gifts manifested by Cardale's wife and sister that the Cardale family formally severed their Anglican association and became members of Irving's congregation. The formal rise of the Catholic Apostolic Church was due to directions given through inspired utterance, but after its establishment the superiority of the institutional apostolic ministry soon was asserted over the charismatic prophetic ministry. The Spirit's movements were channelled and tamed. At the same time the person and work of the Holy Ghost received far more prominence in theological writing and teaching as well as in the Liturgy than was common in the principal denominations at that time.

The Holy Ghost, the Spirit of the Father, received by the Risen Lord and Saviour on His Ascension, and sent down by Him upon the Disciples on the day of Pentecost, is Himself the great source and fountain of all His gifts, whether bestowed in Holy Baptism, or in sealing and anointing those

who have been baptized into Christ, or in the divers acts of Ordination by which men are separated to the service of God in His House and to holy ministry to their brethren in the Church and in the world. (RL, II, p. 468)

The feast of Pentecost, along with Christmas and Easter, was one of the three focal points of the Catholic Apostolic liturgical year. The day before the feast was everywhere observed "as a day of humiliation and sorrow for sin, especially in respect of the gifts of the Holy Ghost."¹⁰ During the Forenoon Service a special series of psalms, lessons and prayers were offered in keeping with the intention of the day. The rejection of Apostles through whom the Holy Ghost guided the Church, the loss of the Ordinances of the Church for supplying all needful grace to the faithful, the ceasing of the exercise of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost and the entanglement of the Church with the world are all bewailed and the assistance of the Almighty is sought to fill his people once again with the Holy Ghost. The collect at Evening Prayer sums up this longing:

Almighty God, who hast caused the hearts of thy people to desire and long for the anointing of Thy Holy Spirit; Grant unto us, we beseech Thee, to be enriched with His manifold gifts, that, patiently enduring through the darkness of this world, and filled with divine grace, we may be found shining like burning lamps in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, when he cometh in His kingdom. Hear us, we beseech Thee, for the sake of the same our Mediator and Redeemer. 11

¹⁰ *Liturgy*, p. 270.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 281-282.

This theological emphasis becomes even clearer as Cardale considers the Catholic Apostolic Church's theology and practice of Christian Initiation. Although the differing demands of infant and adult baptism involve the shortening or omission of certain elements from the liturgy, the Catholic Apostolic Initiatory rite is distributive; that is, there is in usual practice a considerable time lag between the first element, the Receiving of Catechumens, and the last, the Laying-on of Apostles' Hands. Each of the seven separate rites represents a further stage of Christian growth.

The primacy of God's power in bringing mankind to himself is made clear from the very beginning of the process. In both the Order for Receiving a Catechumen and the Dedication of Catechumens, inspired by similar rites in the Roman and Oriental Churches, there is

the invocation of the grace and operation of the Holy Spirit upon the candidate, that he may receive that change of heart and disposition without which there can be neither penitence and contrition for sins original and actual, nor desire or ability to know the only true God, Jesus Christ, or to believe in Him, for pardon and salvation. (RL, II, p. 344)

Thus the rite is entirely suitable whether baptism follows immediately or is delayed so that instruction may be imparted.

The keystone of the whole process, and indeed of the spiritual life of the Christian is the sacrament of holy Baptism. In it the Holy Ghost is at work as Lord and Life-giver communicating and sustaining the new, spiritual

and heavenly life which is God's gift. But it is more than simply a new and second birth. It is in addition the entry into the house of God, the Temple of the Holy Spirit.

It is, therefore, the means of admission into that blessed company, among whom the gifts of the Holy Ghost are bestowed and distributed.

Hence all the other sacraments or Offices in which the gift of the Holy Ghost is bestowed - whether in sealing those who have been baptized, or in ordaining those who are to serve in the sacred Ministry - and all the minor services for the communication of grace and blessing to the Ministers, and to all the members of the Church, are based on the Office for the Administration of Baptism, and, as it were, proceed therefrom.
(RL, II, pp. 235-235)

Although he would not hinder the free working of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of men, Cardale definitely believed that the Third Person's ordinary and most effective sphere of operation is within the Church under the ministry of the Apostolate.

In the light of modern controversies about the admission of children to Holy Communion, it is interesting to note the provisions for this practice in the Catholic Apostolic Church. Baptism was the single essential prerequisite for admission. Baptized infants in imminent danger of death could receive the sacrament if their parents so requested. Children of church families were permitted to make their First Communion as soon as they were capable of kneeling without support, but this permission extended only to a single occasion. As soon as a child was capable of receiving instruction he was enrolled in the catechism sessions

which were held for the purpose before Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and All Saints. Satisfactory faith, understanding and deportment being shown, those in charge of the class could issue a certificate to the parents authorizing them at their discretion to bring the child to receive the Sacrament at the ensuing festival. From this beginning opportunity was given for an increase in the frequency of communion.

As the children, thus instructed, make progress in intelligence, and in faith and good conduct, their parents may be encouraged and permitted - but acting on their own responsibility and discernment of character - to bring them to the Communion more frequently; as, for instance, once in a month, on the Lord's day. 12

As soon as a child was prepared to understand the meaning of and give the answers to the questions contained in the office of Benediction before Communion, he could receive the benediction from the Angel at a suitable public occasion. Following this, and with parental and pastoral permission, more frequent reception of holy Communion became possible. Throughout this process, in addition to the instruction candidates would receive from the clergy, parents were expected to impart the truths of Christianity to their offspring as well. A Catechism containing the principles of both Christian doctrine and discipline (the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Sacraments and the Ministry, and the Christian life) formed

12 *Rubrics*, p. 61.

part of the Catholic Apostolic Prayer Book and was intended to assist parents with their task.

The penultimate action in initiation was an act of Renewal of Vows and Dedication in which, at the Eucharist, those mature and fully instructed members of the Church ratify and confirm the declarations of promises made at their Baptism and publicly declare their desire to seek and expect the blessings of God through the ministry and ordinances of the Church. Within ten days the initiation process is consummated in the Laying on of Apostles' Hands, which also takes place within the context of the Holy Eucharist. The supreme importance of the rite is summed up in the Rubrics.

This rite is for imparting the fulness of God's grace, through the anointing of the Holy Ghost, and for receiving that specific seal of the Holy Ghost for bestowing which Apostles are the ordinance of God: therefore all baptized persons should be instructed to desire this grace, whether they have been confirmed by bishops or not. 13

A footnote to this rubric explains that while episcopal Confirmation does impart a measure of the Holy Spirit, it is only through Apostles' hands that the fulness of the Spirit is given. It represents an attempt to mollify Anglican and Roman Catholic converts and to explain why they should undergo a second time what might appear to be a repetition of what they had been taught was an unrepeatable act. Cardale held that Anglican or Roman or Orthodox

13 *Ibid.*, p. 67.

Confirmation was the spiritual equivalent of the Catholic Apostolic Benediction before Communion.

The basis for the common terminology of this rite as 'Sealing' are the passages in Revelation 7:3-6 and 14:1 which refer to the one hundred and forty-four thousand redeemed who were sealed with the Father's name on their foreheads. Introduced into the Catholic Apostolic rite in 1847, each of the Apostles or his coadjutor was to seal 12,000 to make up the mystic total. As it became clear that the desired totals were not to be attained in this life, the theory was put forward that those who were not sealed in this life might be sealed in the next, before the Final Judgement.

Sealing is distinct from Baptism not just because the latter is a sacrament and the former, however important, is not. Cardale's theology draws a distinction between the cleansing, quickening and regenerating power of the Holy Ghost given in Baptism and the gift of the Spirit conveyed through the Apostle's hands with prayer in which the Holy Ghost fills and empowers the believer:

in the gift of the Holy Ghost, bestowed through the hands of Apostles, that one and the self-same Spirit comes down and dwells in the members of Christ's Body, and also divides to each man severally, as He wills, the special gift or inworking power which He Himself inspires and energizes, fitting him thus in His spiritual being for the future work for which God destines him. (RL, II, p. 549)

As this gift of the Spirit is to equip the Christian for his vocation, and because it should not be received lightly

or without a right apprehension of the responsibilities it entails, none may receive the Laying on of Apostles' Hands before the full age of twenty. Until that time the individual is under the headship and tutelage of others; having received Sealing and the gift of the indwelling Spirit, being thus united to Christ in his Mystical Body and made partaker of the life of God the individual has reached spiritual adulthood, though not spiritual maturity. Through Sealing the Christian is anointed as priest and king and receives the gift of the first fruits of the Spirit. What remains is for him to grow in grace and mature in holiness.

Cardale's theology of Christian Initiation could not be called unorthodox. The position of Baptism as full entry into the process of redemption and the single absolute prerequisite for holy Communion would meet with approval from Roman Catholics, Evangelical Anglicans and Protestants, especially in this ecumenical age. The stress he lays on the importance of receiving the Holy Spirit in Sealing would be applauded in differing ways by Orthodox, Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Pentecostals. No one could fault the pastoral concern for Christian nurture in his scheme. Yet in considering Christian Initiation as he presents it, it is impossible not to wonder if his scheme does not offend, if not violate, the divine economy. What is ancient is not necessarily best, and his reintroduction of the Catechumenate is based on a return to primitive practice which results in three separate rites

culminating in Baptism where a conflated rite based on actual conditions would have served the same purpose. Benediction before Communion and the Laying on of Apostles' Hands look very much like trying to have the best of both worlds of traditional Confirmation at the beginning of puberty and a more mature Confirmation in adulthood. But that is of course precisely what Cardale wanted and, as he would not call either rite a sacrament, he is perhaps justified in his decision.

The Eucharist

John Bate Cardale's Eucharistic theology finds its roots not simply in the Institution narratives in the Synoptic Gospels and I Corinthians but also in the Levitical prescriptions for worship, especially those connected with the worship of the Temple on the Day of Atonement. As Christ fulfilled the rites of the Old Covenant historically, so the weekly celebration of the Eucharist is the liturgical fulfilment not only of Christ's reconciling work but of the ancient rites which prefigured his sacrifice as well. In every instance, in the Jewish rites, the sacrifice of Christ and the Christian Eucharist, God's ancient covenant with his chosen people is renewed. Furthermore, both the Jewish and the Christian observance become the focal point for the yearly and weekly cycles of worship which, respectively, depend on their observance. Few christian writers give such prominence to the literal fulfilment of Levitical rites in Christian counterparts.

Jewish influences on the Christian Eucharist are indeed strong as a number of modern scholars have pointed out, but they are traced rather to the Talmudic provisions for the Passover *kiddush* or blessing, or the directions for the *chaburah* or religious brotherhoods which met for a common weekly meal. Cardale is exceptional in his approach.

However highly he may have valued other rites and ceremonies, such as Sealing, Absolution, Marriage, Ordination and Unction, Cardale recognized only Baptism and the Eucharist as sacraments. As Baptism is the foundation of all spiritual life, so the Eucharist is the foundation of all worship. It is not simply that the Eucharist is repeated in fidelity to Christ's command, it is rather that the weekly Eucharist, celebrated by the Angel as the representative of Christ, extends into and informs the worship offered during the week at Morning and Evening Prayer. This extension is accomplished by means of two theological principles, each in their own way unique to Cardale - Proposition and Intercession.

Cardale's theory of the Proposition of the Sacrament is the outcome of his Eucharistic theology. Although he rejects transubstantiation and consubstantiation he is not a virtualist, a receptionist or a memorialist either. Errors in either direction are gross misunderstandings of what a sacrament is. A sacrament must have an outward physical sign as well as an inner spiritual reality or it is degraded into a mere empty and meaningless symbol. In his own words he explains,

we believe that that bread and that wine, which in their original condition were, so far as we know, without any spiritual properties whatever, are now changed into *certain holy bodies*, which, without losing their former physical condition - being in that respect unchanged - are now virtually and spiritually, by the power of the Holy Ghost, the Body and Blood of Christ. When we say virtually, we mean more than that is as good as, or to the same effect as, if the Body and Blood of Christ were present. We mean, that in power, in efficacy, and virtue - that is to say, really and effectually - His Body and Blood are present. When we say spiritually, we mean, that they are not present by a *change* of place from heaven to earth, nor after any such manner as is proper to mere matter: but after a spiritual and immaterial substance, that is to say without change or motion of parts; and that this presence is effected through the operation of the Holy Ghost. So that we believe that the Body and Blood of Christ are capable, in fulfilment of the will of God, through the ministry of Christ, and by the power and energy of the Holy Ghost, of being present elsewhere than in the place where are the material substances of His flesh and blood in their ordinary physical condition; and that, by reason of this presence, the bread and wine are changed into the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ; in which Sacrament, under the outward figures and signs of bread and wine, are present after a spiritual manner, the Body and Blood of Christ.

What we have now said is no explanation of this great spiritual mystery; it is a mystery and one cannot explain it.

(RL, I, pp. 165-166)

This balanced statement is an attempt to preserve the truth and reality of the Real Presence while rejecting philosophical or material explanations of the manner in which the presence is effected. In rejecting philosophy as an adequate vehicle for theological explanation, Cardale remains outside the mainstream of Western Catholic theological thought. Cardale would reject both transubstantiation,

the official Roman Catholic doctrine, and Zwinglian memorialism, the position of the heirs of the radical reformation as inadequate explanations of the effect of consecration. Transubstantiation goes too far in one direction in its absolute identification of the elements with the Body and Blood of Christ while memorialism, rejecting any change in the elements and depending totally on the action of the communicant in receiving them in memory of Christ to produce any sacramental effect, goes too far in the other. The former focuses the sacramental action in the elements while the latter centers it in the individual believer. Anabaptist views which reduce the Lord's Supper to a mere love feast would also be rejected as having totally abandoned any sacramental connection with the redemptive work of Christ. Consubstantiation, the Lutheran doctrine, which teaches the coexistence of the Body and Blood of Christ (which Cardale believed were in heaven)¹⁴ with the earthly elements of bread and wine would also be dismissed as too close to transubstantiation for comfort. Calvin's virtualism or Hooker's receptionism in which, although after consecration the bread and wine remain as before, there is a real but not localized presence of Christ and the faithful receive his Body and Blood, are the theological positions closest to Cardale. He cannot accept them, however, for they effectively deny any inherent value to the consecrated

¹⁴ Cardale, *Teachings addressed to candidates for the Laying on of Apostles' Hands*, (London, 1847), p. 21.

elements. The sacramental action takes place in the recipient alone. Cardale believes that the power of the Spirit effects a change in the bread and wine, not in any material or physical sense, but in a manner proper to a sacrament: that is to say, the elements are invested with a new and spiritual significance by which the Body and Blood of Christ is both made objectively present and capable of being mediated to the faithful. To use an analogy from an entirely different sphere, Cardale's view of the relationship between Christ and the elements at the Eucharist after consecration is parallel to that existing between a king and his ambassador. While obviously not the monarch, an ambassador nevertheless represents his principal in all matters, is honoured as his master would be and acts to effect his ruler's will. Similarly, the consecrated bread and wine, while not Christ's natural Body and Blood which are in Heaven, nevertheless represent those realities, are honoured because of what they symbolize and are effective in communicating Christ's life-giving power. Cardale's position would be acceptable to most Anglo-Catholics as well as to the Orthodox, both of whom tend to favour explanations of eucharistic doctrine which emphasize the reality of Christ's presence in the elements without too precise attention being paid to the mode of that presence. It is interesting to speculate how much Cardale was influenced in his doctrinal writings on the Eucharist by Pusey's teaching which a decade earlier had caused so much furor. In transmitting his celebrated sermon to the Vice-Chancellor

for examination Pusey summarized his position:

I believe that after Consecration the Holy Elements are in their natural substances bread and wine, and yet are *also* the Body and Blood of Christ. this I believe as a mystery, which others have long ago pointed out ...

I do not attempt to explain the 'how' which seems to me to have been the error of the R.C.'s and the Swiss Reformers, the one holding that because it was the Body of Christ, it was not bread; the other that because it was bread therefore it was not His Body.

I hold both, as I do the absolute foreknowledge of God and man's free agency, without having any thought to explain how: and believe both ... as a mystery.

While then I hold that they are really 'elements of this world' ... I feel satisfied that it is perfectly consistent with our Church to use also language speaking of them as the Body and Blood of Christ ... 15

Certainly Cardale's position squares perfectly with that of Oxford's Regius Professor of Hebrew as well as coming within the limits of acceptability set out in Article XXVIII. His emphasis on the essentially unfathomable action of the Holy Ghost in bringing about the change in the elements from bread and wine to the Body and Blood of Christ is a clear heritage not just from the pentecostalism of Irving, but also from the Patristic and Greek Orthodox traditions in which Cardale had steeped himself. Reading it one is reminded of the famous epigram attributed to Queen Elizabeth I whereby, in more succinct fashion, she makes the same point:

15 Henry Parry Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (London, Longmans, 1893), pp. 313-314.

His was the Word that spake it:
 He took the bread and brake it:
 And what that Word did make it,
 I do believe and take it.

Our Lord, having accomplished his work on earth, ascended into heaven where he continually pleads the merits of his all sufficient sacrifice before the Father. By fidelity to Christ's institution and command, and the quickening power of the Spirit, the Church Militant presents before God the highest and most acceptable form of worship and sacrifice in the effective symbols of Christ's Passion. The Eucharist is no repetition of the sacrifice of Christ, nor does it add anything to it. Deriving its value and authority from the work of Christ and its virtue from the action of the Holy Ghost, the Eucharist communicates the forgiveness, favour and acceptance we seek from God. With the holy Gifts, the memorials of the Passion, set before God upon his Altar, the celebrant, personifying the Church, proceeds to fulfil her mediatorial role by offering up supplications, prayers, intercessions and thanksgivings for all men living and departed, especially those of the household of faith. Thus the Eucharist is a true sacrifice for it is a perfect representation of Christ's sacrifice, effective when pleaded before the Father by the Church through her authorized representative. In addition the Eucharist provides the opportunity for continuing the mediatorial work of Christ throughout each week on whose first day it has been celebrated.

The work of Christ, comprising both that which is accomplished in His life and death, and that which in His own person

He now fulfils, is commemorated, not in the sacrament of the Eucharist alone, but in the Eucharist carried out into its results, and continued in the offering of Intercession by the Angel morning and evening ... (RL, I, p. 387)

At the daily services of Morning and Evening Prayer in churches under the pastoral care of an angel the Sacrament is solemnly placed on the Altar following the Psalms for the day and this prayer is said secretly by the Angel:

Lord God Almighty, we come before the throne of Thy glorious Majesty, presenting the emblems of the Passion of Thy Son, the Bread of everlasting Life, and the Cup of eternal Salvation. Have respect, O Lord, unto His sacrifice; remember thou His offering; and let His intercession on behalf of Thy Church ascend up before Thee; to the glory of Thy holy Name. Amen. 16

With the Sacrament solemnly present the Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions and Thanksgivings prescribed are offered, culminating in The Intercession, the ministry reserved to the Angel alone as the representative of Christ the High Priest and Mediator and forming the climax of the service. The Proposition of the Sacrament is not an optional extra at the time of The Intercession, it is an absolute necessity, revealed by God:

it is not only enough to make prayers and intercessions to Him by word only. It is essential that those prayers and intercessions be made in the presence of the holy gifts forming the material of that sacrifice which he has instituted, the Christian sacrifice; even as Christ, who by the Holy Ghost fulfils this work in the

Church, did first in His own person enter upon His work of mediation, through the offering of His Body and the pouring out of His Blood.

Furthermore,

it is as contrary to the ordinance of God ... that these holy symbols should be absent in the morning and evening Intercession, as it would be contrary to God's ordinance that the intercession and prayer in the celebration of the Eucharist should be offered without the previous consecration, and in the actual presence, of the Sacrament. (RL, I, p. 428)

The necessity of Proposing the Sacrament twice daily is the primary justification for its reservation. As the Catholic Apostolic Church tended to follow the Orthodox practice of weekly rather than the Roman practice of daily celebration of the Eucharist, the reservation of the Sacrament was the means by which daily Communion (administered after Morning Prayer) was made available to the faithful, as an extension of the Sunday Celebration. The immediate availability of the Sacrament for the sick and dying (sick-room celebration being frowned upon as both unseemly and lacking the element of connection with the congregational weekly Eucharist) is the tertiary justification for this practice. Thus in every Catholic Apostolic Church the sacramental presence of Christ could be found, if only for the purpose of the Communion of the Sick. No extra-liturgical devotions to the Sacrament were permitted and genuflection was unknown; the emphasis is not on the sacramental species but on Christ whom they represent. This is made clear in the prayers provided for use when passing an altar on which the Sacrament is placed:

O Lord Jesu Christ, who in the holy
 Eucharist vouchsafest unto the Church
 Thy presence: I worship and adore Thee,
 and implore Thy grace and Thy peace.
 Amen. 17

Cardale's restrained doctrine of the Real Presence which attempts, successfully, to avoid the pitfalls of customary Catholic and Protestant eucharistic theory is a tribute not simply to his insight as a biblical theologian but also to his lawyer's ability to extract the essential truths from apparently conflicting propositions. The unique doctrines of Proposition and Intercession which flow from his eucharistic theology are remarkable for their extension of the meaning and effectiveness of the Eucharist beyond the actual time of its celebration. In the Roman Church the elements though reserved primarily for communicating the sick have become the focus of adoration often to the detriment of actual reception; in Orthodoxy, although the elements are reserved for the sick, no extra liturgical notice is taken of them, and few of the faithful would communicate more than once a month; in the Church of England in 1851 when Cardale's work on the Eucharist was first published, quarterly celebrations would have been the rule except in Cathedral and Collegiate churches, and reservation extremely rare. Cardale established in the Catholic Apostolic Church doctrines and practices which must have been the envy of many struggling Tractarian clergymen in his day, let alone those of a century later.

With such theological assumptions the evolution of ceremonial and the introduction of the traditional vestments of the Western church (the amice and mitre excepted) can only be seen as natural developments. The pattern was repeated but much more slowly within Anglicanism and within non-episcopal churches and did not begin to emerge seriously until later on. While there was doubtless some discussion, dissatisfaction, and departure among members of the Catholic Apostolic Church whose ties with Presbyterianism or Nonconformity were strong, there was not any of the uproar that accompanied Bennett's introduction of Catholic ceremonial at St. Barnabas, Pimlico in 1850 and 1851 or Denison's staunch upholding of the Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence between 1854 and 1858. It is a remarkable achievement and a remarkable testimonial to Cardale's powers as a pastor and leader of men.

Psychology

In one of his earliest publications, *Man*, published in 1850 and later substantially incorporated into the introduction to *Readings upon the Liturgy*, Cardale reveals his interest in the psychological aspects of religion. He sees in the maturation of the individual a paradigm of the religious development of man, both as a race and as an individual. Primitive man was addressed through the senses and worshipped God with animal sacrifices; ancient man (Jewish, Greek and Roman) manifested the conquest of mind over matter and as a reasonable being worshipped God through

a system of laws; modern man (since the Christ-event) shows the transition from a reasonable to a spiritual being who has attained the development intended for him by God and who worships in spirit and in truth. The individual in infancy is in the primitive or animal state, in youth he becomes a reasoning being and as an adult he attains full use of spiritual powers. Thus as maturity grows, man develops from domination by his body, through moral leadership from the soul to submission to the hegemony of the spirit. During this development from the physical to the reasoning to the spiritual God has adapted his revelation to the condition of his creatures.

Man is distinguished from animals and angels, though allied to both:

men, in common with angels, possess the spiritual faculties of personal consciousness, of conscience, and of choice or power of determining in the will according to conscience; and being thus endowed, they are, in consequence, responsible for their actions; and ... in common with brutes, men possess bodies which, while animated and in life, convey sensations to the sentient faculty. (RL, II, p. 84)

The immaterial part of man is adapted to fulfil its functions in the body; if the two are separated, death ensues. In death the immaterial part of man is capable of certain functions, yet such action is wholly unnatural. Created in the image of God, through Adam's sin man fell into a condition in which the whole human race is inclined to evil and averse to good, so becoming subject to death and dissolution. Man's situation, humanly speaking, is grave.

Of his sinful condition before God he is at best but dimly conscious. Except as he is supernaturally moved by God's Spirit, he is obdurate, incapable of true repentance for the past, of trust in God for the present, of hope in God for the future. He cannot love *Him* whom, as far as he knows, he dreads. (RL, II, p. 362)

But God is prodigal with his love and wants only the conversion, return and submission of his sinful creatures to his holy will. It is the peculiar work of the Holy Spirit to inspire God's ministers to make known to fallen man the grace and truth, the love and righteousness of the Father. Thus God "waits upon all men by His Spirit, that He may draw them unto Himself, if only they will not despise His mercy and persist in rejecting His salvation." (RL, II, pp. 362-363)

Within man's spiritual nature, Cardale distinguishes four elements, the will, the imagination, the understanding and the affections. The will is the faculty of deliberate judgement, not just of attentive and complete deliberation but also of originating action; the imagination is the faculty of taking cognizance of external objects and apprehending those suggested by our inward consciousness as well as of receiving divine inspiration; the understanding is the faculty of apprehending truth or falsehood, evaluating propositions and agreeing or disagreeing with them, and inferring conclusions from principles already established; the affections are our reactions to individuals and situations as they are presented to us. It is the action of the Holy Ghost as Spirit of Life and Spirit of Power upon these elements that accomplishes

their redemption and brings man to his highest development. As the divinely appointed channel of the Holy Spirit, fulfilling and using the particular spiritual capabilities of men in their respective 'borders', the Fourfold Ministry is precisely suited, by God's providence, to address the spiritual nature of man in each of its fourfold divisions. The peculiar work of the apostolic ministry is rule, through words of wisdom, authority and direction; the prophetic ministry is characterized by the light of revelation uncovering truths previously unknown or unobserved; the evangelistic ministry is the delivery of the word of persuasion and encouragement. The first of these ministries is addressed to the will, the second to the imagination, the third to the understanding and the fourth to the affections, sympathies and emotions. As the development of the whole man from infancy to maturity is characterized by a growing consciousness of spiritual power and potentiality and nourished by an ever-increasing reception of holy Communion, so the whole range of the spiritual needs of the adult are ministered to by the Fourfold Ministry.

The lengthy 'distributed' initiation rite - it could stretch over two decades in the case of those baptized as infants - the variety of provision made for the liturgical observance (public or private) of significant events in the life of the individual, congregation or nation, and the diligence to which the ministers of the Catholic Apostolic Church were exhorted and which they must generally have faithfully fulfilled as the slow demise of

individual congregations after the death of the last Apostle in 1901 testifies, are all indications not simply of pastoral nurture. They grow out of Cardale's understanding of the psychological needs of man and represent his attempts to meet them in a consistent and congruent system.

CHAPTER FOURCARDALE'S OPUSCULA

Cardale's minor works can be placed in certain broad classes, but these classes have to do with type rather than content, as succeeding pages will show. Instead of giving the reader a progressive revelation of the development of their author's mind, they give hints of attitudes, flashes of insight, introductory explanations. Yet, they are important for forming an estimate of their author who published them all anonymously and who lived a life hidden from wide public view while at the same time discharging the duties of virtual ruler of the Catholic Apostolic Church, especially after Drummond returned to the House of Commons. Certain themes recur or are alluded to frequently, but are not treated definitively: the importance of the restoration of the Apostolate and of the fourfold ministry of Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists and Pastors, the imminent approach of the Parousia and the consequent necessity for diligence and vigilance, and the non-sectarian purpose of those gathered under the Albury Apostles, although necessarily separated for a time from the mainstream of church life. Cardale's canons of judgement are formed by Holy Scripture, the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds and the teachings of the Fathers. Although he does not allude to it, the Vincentian Canon ('what has been believed everywhere, always, and by all') with its threefold test of

ecumenicity, antiquity and consent as a means of distinguishing between true and false tradition could very well have served as his judgemental touchstone in most matters, although his thoroughgoing Evangelical biblicism does sometimes override this more Catholic test.

Apologetic

A manual or summary of the special objects of Faith and Hope in the present times published in 1843 is Cardale's summary of the *Testimonies* produced in the previous decade with some glosses explaining particular details at more length. His intention in preparing the document is "to bring into shape and form things implicitly believed and held, and to give a groundwork of principles to those who are implicitly holding the common faith and hope."¹ In essence it is a handbook for instructing members of the Catholic Apostolic Church. The themes he chooses to expand are exclusively those which he will treat at greater length elsewhere: baptismal regeneration, the eucharistic sacrifice and miracles, but principally the fourfold ministry of Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists and Pastors necessary for the true life of the Universal Church and the particular congregation.

We believe that the perfecting of the Church, that the offering of the true worship of God, that the accomplishing of His will and purpose in the Church, and by the

¹ John Bate Cardale, *A manual or summary of the special objects of Faith and Hope in the present times*, (London, Moyes and Barclay, 1843), pp. vi-vii.

Church towards all men, essentially depend on the raising up of Apostles to minister at His altar which He rebuilds, and to guide and bless His people, and on the reviving in His Priesthood of the fourfold Ministry inherent therein. We believe that the perfecting of his Saints, by the operation of that fourfold ministry, depends on the restoration, to its true dignity and proper place, of the office of Angel, and on the renewing of the Ministry of Intercession. 2

At the same time this belief is not tied to a call to schism or separation but rather to renewal and the strengthening of those things in the Church Catholic which remain though often in a parlous state.³

More than two decades later, in 1865, *The character of our present testimony and work* issued from Cardale's pen. Addressed to the Catholic Apostolic Churches in London and elsewhere in England thirty years after the Separation of the Apostles, it is at once a review of the accomplishments of their church in setting forth their *Testimonies*, a summary of their principal tenets and an exhortation to perseverance and hope. It is carefully set out under seven principal headings and it is difficult on reading it to wonder whether or not it might very well have formed a homiletic handbook for members of the clergy in the Catholic Apostolic Church. Apart from those who had previously been Anglican, Roman or Free Church clergymen, the Catholic Apostolic ministry while doubtless

2 Cardale, *Ibid.*, pp. 124-125.

3 Cardale, *Ibid.*, p. vii.

zealous was probably not particularly well instructed theologically and so far as can be ascertained the Church had no theological seminary or training school. The first especially interesting feature of this work is its apprehension of the spiritual dissension and turmoil which were prevalent everywhere at the time.

It is a time, as in the days of our Lord, of religious profession and of religious controversy. And now, as in those days, the spirits of religious pride and obstinacy, and of religious scepticism, and of religious asceticism, are striving for the mastery over the souls of men. As then, so now, neither the dominant powers in the State, nor the Pantheistic spirit of the age, will at this immediate moment permit the strife of swords: the arrows they employ are bitter words. The several partisans, even those who profess an infidel liberality, harden themselves, each in their own narrow views: they build themselves up, each in the peculiarities of their own system; they become blind to its deficiencies, they dream of an universal success. The divisions between Pharisees and Sadducees lead but to a more lively perception of each others errors, and an inability to discern their own defects. They see the mote in their brother's eye; but they overlook the beam in their own eye. 4

The prescription for overcoming these difficulties is, of course, submission to God under the rule of the restored Apostolate. The second interesting feature is the acknowledgement of hostile views of the church by those outside it and the responses which are made to the charge of schism on the part of the Catholic Apostolic Church in

⁴ Cardale, *The character of our present testimony and work*, (London, Strangeways and Walden, 1865), p. 16.

insisting on such submission.

After twenty years of existence as a corporate body, the Catholic Apostolic Church was making sufficient headway for the Anglican High Church party to be worried. Between June 1854 and April 1855 a number of articles under the general heading "The Church's Broken Unity - Irvingism", part of a larger series dealing with deviations from Catholic truth, were published in *The Old Church Porch*. The editor of this monthly magazine was W. J. E. Bennett, vicar of Frome since 1851 and formerly vicar of St. Barnabas, Pimlico, the scene of violent anti-ritualistic rioting in 1850. On 10 November of that year in a particularly outrageous incident, a party led by the butler of the Apostle Henry Drummond tried to break into the church during a 'No Popery - No Puseyism' riot but were stopped by police. The butler was charged but acquitted by a sympathetic magistrate and Bennett resigned the cure of the church he built and the people he loved.⁵ It is not surprising therefore that on the establishment of *The Old Church Porch* as a bastion of Catholic principles, the church of which Drummond was so prominent a member should be so thoroughly dissected. These ten articles prompted Cardale to publish *A Letter on certain statements contained in some late articles in "The Old Church Porch" entitled "Irvingism"* in 1855, and republish it with a prefatory

⁵ Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, (London, Black, 1966), part I, p. 302.

expansion again in 1867, the year Bennett renewed his attack by publishing the whole series of articles as a separate volume.

In this extensive tract we see clearly Cardale's legal professionalism in his response to the attacks in *The Old Church Porch*, as he marshals facts and disposes point by point, of his adversaries' arguments. In some respects, it has the tone of a solicitor's brief:

As respects the misstatements which I am now to expose, so far as they have been derived from Mr. Baxter's book, Mr. Baxter, as the original publisher of them, and these gentlemen, as the propagators, must divide the responsibility. For such of them as are not to be found in Mr. Baxter's book, these gentlemen are, I suppose, to be held exclusively answerable. 6

Although it attacks the credibility of Baxter (a former member of the Catholic Apostolic Church who published two works critical of the communion he had left), it carefully refutes the charge of schism, pointing out the number of Anglo-Catholics who went over to Rome. It especially justifies three peculiar Catholic Apostolic features: the restoration of the apostolate, the gift of tongues and the gift of prophesying, and it preserves an eirenic flavour and intention, a characteristic not common in religious debate in any age. This is all the more striking when the tone of *The Old Church Porch* attack on "Irvingism" is compared with that of the reply it drew.

⁶ Cardale, *A letter on certain statements contained in some late articles in "The Old Church Porch" entitled "Irvingism"*, (London, Goodall, [1855]), p. 4.

The Old Church Porch says of the Catholic Apostolic Church

Its claims, however, are so different from those of other sects - its specious appearance in cultivating the arts of embellishment and decoration both in the Services and House of God, the very opposite of Presbyterianism - its vaunting claims in setting forth Catholicity for its object, while in reality it fosters Dissent - its extraordinary, if not blasphemous assertion of the possession of miraculous gifts of the SPIRIT - its strange infatuation in imitating the authority and assuming the office of the very Apostles - above all, its unaccountable inconsistency in maintaining with one hand a union with the Catholic Church, even with the Blessed Sacraments, while with the other it builds separate Conventicles, and rears altar (so called) against altar. All these features place it far above the common histories of ordinary schism, and claim for it especial notice. 7

In response to this attack which pulled no punches, and may indeed have been hitting below the belt, Cardale replies in an absolutely opposite fashion: "I believe Mr. Baxter to be a strictly honourable man ..." ⁸ and "I have already said that I am not entering into any controversial defence or apology: my object is to correct misrepresentations and to indicate what are the true points at issue." ⁹ Cardale continues and closes the work in the same vein.

I cannot conclude without expressing my

⁷ *The Old Church Porch*, vol. I, no. 6 (1 June 1854), p. 87.

⁸ Cardale, *A letter on certain statements contained in some late articles in "The Old Church Porch" entitled "Irvingism"*, (London, Goodall, [1855]), p. 22.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

sincere sorrow that gentlemen, whom we have all been disposed to respect, and whose characters for sincerity, love of truth, and devotion to God, are so high in the estimation of many, should have permitted themselves to put forth such articles as these. 10

If Cardale was not provoked to anger by the original articles, their republication in book form obviously drew blood. In republishing his *Letter* of twelve years before, Cardale added a preface whose tenor is not that of the wounded or misunderstood but of real annoyance. Having rebuked Bennett once in the spirit of meekness, Cardale now lets his adversary have it in the preface to the republished *Letter*. As well as attacking Bennett's character, motives and principles, Cardale points out that the strictures and correction in the 1885 publication were not intended as answers to Bennett's articles as a whole.

They do not even deal with all the misrepresentations and statements destitute of truth, to be found in the articles in question. Many of these are so unimportant, many so totally, and sometimes so ludicrously opposed to matters of notoriety, as to give a character of dishonesty and untrustworthiness to the whole; and they are better left unnoticed. 11

This sharpness pervades the preface which is also interesting for Cardale's defence of Irving's doctrine of the Incarnation.

10 *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

11 Cardale, *A letter on certain statements contained in some late articles in "The Old Church Porch" entitled "Irvingism"*, 2nd ed. with preface, (London, Bosworth, 1867), p. iii.

Cardale had written in 1860 that "the federal Constitution of Switzerland, under which they meet in general council for the common weal, may afford a lesson of wisdom to the Church, in which the use of general councils has been long abandoned, and is almost forgotten";¹² he did not, however, greet the first Lambeth Conference with any enthusiasm. His *Remarks on the proceedings of the Lambeth Conference* which appeared in the following year is a negative assessment of the accomplishment of the bishops who assembled at Lambeth in 1867. He questions the authority of the bishops who were only members of a voluntary gathering to issue a Pastoral Address although he commends its intention and tone. But it is the Resolutions to which he takes the most exception. With his lawyer's mind he sees them as statute law rather than principles for guidance; thus he is led to attack them more vigorously than they deserve. In his criticisms he enters into an exposition of his theory of the relationship between church and state in which he expresses his approval of the union of church and state from a practical point of view: "Her Union in the State is a bond which keeps together her discordant factions and gives dignity and influence and advantages in bringing the truths of the Gospel to the hearts of the people."¹³ Cardale teaches that the Church is not

¹² Cardale, *Notes of Lectures delivered in the seven churches in London*, (London, Strangeways and Walden, 1860), p. 39.

¹³ Cardale, *Remarks on the proceedings in the Lambeth Conference*, (London, Strangeways and Walden, 1868), p. 19.

to seek temporal power and that the State should not interfere in ecclesiastical matters. In *Notes of Lectures on Revelation* he puts the case particularly strongly. "It is an abomination that Priests should exercise worldly rule. It is an abomination that Kings should exercise spiritual influence in the Church."¹⁴

Cardale adds some words on the relation of church and state and their respective claims in *The Church in this dispensation, an election* which was published as a sequel to his *Remarks on the proceedings of the Lambeth Conference*. Cardale takes as his starting point the assumption of territorial jurisdiction by the Roman hierarchy reestablished in 1850 (of which he disapproves as an act of aggression by one sovereign against another) and the *Ecclesiastical Titles Assumption Act* of 1851 (of which he approves as expressing the proper relation of the English Church and State, though realizing it to be a dead letter legally). He goes on to point out the fatal mistake made by most churchmen which has brought about the low estate of the church - the desire for worldly power.

Forgetting the hope of the Church - the Coming of the Lord to raise her to the heavenly inheritance - they have sought an inheritance upon earth. All sects have alike looked forward to the conquest

¹⁴ Cardale, *Notes of Lectures delivered in the seven churches in London*, (London, Strangeways and Walden, 1860), p. 27. See also: Cardale, *The Duty of a Christian in the Disposal of his income*, (London, Bosworth and Harrison, 1863), p. 5, and Cardale, *Christ's disciples must suffer tribulation*, (London, Strangeways and Walden, 1869), pp. 10, 12.

of the world; each indeed disclaiming coercive authority when beyond their reach, but claiming it when they have had the power, and consistently claiming it. For if the kingdom of Christ be come, this authority must prevail against both kings and peoples. 15

The church is *ecclesia*, called out of the world. The kingdom will come only by God's power and in God's time. Until then the Church in its sanctified members must abide as the faithful remnant, forsaking friendship with the world which can only lead to enmity towards God.

Although it does not fall into this category by nature, the content of Cardale's *Short sermon on war* makes it appropriate to mention this work at this juncture. Its purpose is to consider how far and on what grounds a Christian nation or individual is justified in carrying on war. All wars but those waged in self-defence and for the protection of a nation from unjust aggression are sinful in God's sight; even allowing for this exception secret motives often make it difficult to know if a war is really waged in self-defence. A Christian may properly bear arms at the lawful bidding of the civil ruler. It is not the place of the Church to interfere in matters of peace and war, as wars between man and man are contrary to the spirit of Christ. "The fact that, under any circumstances, wars between Christian nations are justifiable, proves that the kingdoms of this world are not yet become the kingdom of

15 Cardale, *The Church in this dispensation, an election*, (London, Strangeways and Walden, 1868), p. 5.

Our Lord and of His Christ."¹⁶ Of all wars those of religion are the most odious, as the history of the Crusades testifies.

Doctrinal

Sometime in 1847 a disciple of Cardale was present as he gave a series of eight short lectures to a group of candidates for the newly instituted rite of the Laying on of Apostles' Hands, commonly called Sealing. Fortunately this unknown individual took down Cardale's words verbatim and later followers transcribed and published them, for, coming from the Pillar of Apostles, they must represent the standard for such instruction both in form and content. These *Teachings addressed to candidates for the Laying on of Apostles' Hands* are noteworthy as they do not deal with the doctrines of the Creed, the devotional life, or practical Christian commitment. They are rather concerned with the ordinances of the Church in word and sacrament and they consistently emphasize the hidden supernatural power of the Holy Spirit manifested and fulfilled in Baptism, Sealing, the Eucharist, Absolution and Ordination. He recognizes clearly the difficulties faced by those newly adhering to the Catholic Apostolic Church:

It is not to be concealed that most of us have been brought up in Protestantism and imbued with Protestant principles which are not like those of Roman Catholics in

¹⁶ Cardale, *A short sermon upon war*, (London, Chiswick Press, [1876]), p. 9.

favour of the exaggeration of truth, but
in favour of the denial of truth. 17

Warning them against prejudice generated by upbringing or experience, Cardale sets before the candidates sober catholic sacramental teaching, proved in evangelical fashion with scripture and justified by the practical spiritual benefits accruing from discrimination in these matters between catholic superstition and protestant unbelief.

An extensive tract eventually included in *Readings upon the Liturgy* was Cardale's second major publication. *The Confession of the Church* is an account and exposition of the Nicene creed. It appeared in 1848, as an antidote to the author's apprehension of the lack of value placed on the Creed, its regular use in the Liturgy being viewed in some quarters (presumably by adherents of the Catholic Apostolic Church whose background was Presbyterian) as an occasion of dissension rather than a bond of unity. A close comparison of this work with its final form reveals only minor expansion, a brief history of the Liturgical use of the creed and the addition of two or three footnotes.

The exposition itself is unexceptional, save where it deals with the fourth Note of the Church where peculiarly Catholic Apostolic teaching on the place and function of Apostles is outlined and where the controverted *Filioque* clause is discussed. Objections to the use of the latter

¹⁷ Cardale, *Teachings addressed to candidates for the Laying on of Apostles' Hands*, (London, [1847]), a mimeographed reprint, p. 17.

are dealt with carefully, but Cardale refuses to inquire why the opposition to the use of these three words has come about as "these are questions which can only tend to further disunion",¹⁸ revealing for the first time his own definitely eirenical approach to religious controversy. Cardale's statements are fully supported by both Biblical and Patristic citations.

An almost complete contrast to *The Confession of the Church* is the commentary on Revelation published in 1860 under the title *Notes of Lectures delivered in the seven churches in London*. Beginning in 1858 the Prophets of the Catholic Apostolic Church met yearly about the time of Pentecost for mutual instruction, guidance and study of the scriptures. The books Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther were studied in the first two sessions, and the results of the deliberations were sent to the Angels of the congregations, the first time with an Apostolic commentary, the second time without. In the third session the subject was Revelation 1-16 and each Apostle (by this time only half remained) was left free to consider how best to apply the prophetic teaching (not available today in more than outline form) for the edification of his tribe.¹⁹

The commentary begins in an orthodox enough fashion by declaring that the book of Revelation "is not given to

¹⁸ Cardale, *The Confession of the Church*, (London, Barclay, 1848), p. 32.

¹⁹ Cardale, *Notes of lectures delivered in the seven churches in London*, (London, Strangeways and Walden, 1860), p. 2.

excite our speculations or gratify our curiosity as to future events. It is the apocalypse of Christ - Christ risen, ascended and glorified - Christ, Head of the Body, the Church - Christ revealed and manifested in His Church ..."²⁰ It then immediately launches, however, into characteristic Catholic Apostolic teaching. The work of the Apostles in preparing and delivering the three *Testimonies*, the erection of the seven Catholic Apostolic churches in London, the establishment of the fourfold ministry are all seen as fulfilments of the words of Revelation. Roman Catholicism, Orthodoxy, Protestantism, Evangelicalism and Liberalism are condemned by the direct application of passages from the Apocalypse as well as the civil rule in England, France and Germany. Only neutral Switzerland is singled out for a word of praise, it being "a sign, nationally, to the nations of Christendom of God's purpose to keep his people from the strife of tongues."²¹

Even to the sympathetic outsider this curious work arouses no sympathy for the Catholic Apostolic Church. Instead of confirming the truth of the promises revealed through their Prophets and Apostles, its questionable interpretations of scriptures appear clearly as special pleading and one is almost driven to think that Cardale had forgotten whatever he knew of the laws of evidence

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

and logical inference.

Throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century liberal politicians and reformers were attempting to change the law of marriage in Great Britain to allow a man to marry his deceased wife's sister. Catholic-minded people opposed the law, seeing it as an attack not only on the sanctity of marriage but on the very laws of God as well. When Cardale delivered his discourse on *The Unlawfulness of Marriage with the sister of a deceased wife* in 1871, an act allowing such marriages to take place had passed the Commons and he was joining the hue and cry raised against it in the hope that the peers who had not yet voted upon it would reject it. Cardale's legal mind can be seen at work as he draws from the provisions of Leviticus 18 (which do not explicitly prohibit marriage with a deceased wife's sister) an absolute prohibition of such a relationship: "the chapter does not contain an exact enumeration of all possible cases prohibited, but contains classes, or a number of instances from which we can collect rules, and how they are to be applied ..."²² Cardale, in drawing this prohibition from Scripture, illustrates how strongly his Evangelical background stayed with him, even after 25 years with the Catholic Apostolic Church. It almost smacks of fanaticism to insist on the sinfulness of something not explicitly prohibited by Scripture - and

²² Cardale, *The Unlawfulness of Marriage with the Sister of a Deceased Wife*, (London, Darling, 1871), p. 9.

even enjoined in the case of Levirate marriage (which exception Cardale explains away with one breath while in the next upholding the position that the regulations of the Old Testament apply to Christians as well as Jews). Cardale is zealous for the honour of God which can only be achieved by submission to Him in obedience to His word, not by indulging the emotions. *The Deceased Wife's Sister's Marriage Act* was not finally passed by both Houses of Parliament until 30 years after Cardale's death. The delay in its passage for almost half a century might have given a posthumous satisfaction to Cardale, though the lack of obvious 'corruption and miserable destruction' amongst the British people after the Act took effect, such as was seen among the Egyptians and Canaanites who had heretofore indulged in such practices²³ might have diminished his elation.

The year 1873 was the bicentenary of the death of St. Margaret Mary Alacoque who had been beatified by Pope Pius IX nine years before. In the decree of beatification the Pope had declared, "Jesus, our Blessed Lord, would have the adoration and worship of his most sacred Heart established and propagated in his Church."²⁴ In the consecration of the Archdiocese of Westminster to the Sacred Heart of Jesus on 17 June of that year the cult was given

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

²⁴ Quoted in Cardale, *The doctrine of the Incarnation of the Son of God and the worship due to him*, (London, Strangeways, [1873]), p. 3.

extra emphasis by the now well-established Roman Catholic hierarchy, anxious to assure the Vatican of their zeal and loyalty by continuing to Romanize the ethos of their Communion in England. Cardale found the Pope's declaration and Cardinal Manning's action highly offensive and published *The Doctrine of the Incarnation of the Son of God and the worship due to him* as an antidote. Beginning with an exposition of the second part of the Athanasian Creed with its emphasis on the unity of Christ's person: "the right faith is, that we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man ... who, although he be God and Man, yet he is not two, but one Christ ..." ²⁵ This unity is beyond our comprehension. Although it is beyond our power to explain it, it is within our power to believe it. To offer distinct and separate acts of worship to separate and distinct parts of the one Christ is to divide Christ contrary to the teachings of the Creed and to fall into the idolatrous error of exacting some subordinate object into the place which rightfully only belongs to him who is true God and true man. The defence that the object of the devotion is not the physical heart of Christ so much as his love is valueless; not only is it impossible to worship an abstraction, but also abstractions all too soon find a home in a material idol. In true worship the Christian worships the whole Christ.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Wherefore, in approaching our adorable Lord, we neither address our worship to His Godhead or to His Divine attributes, whether of power or of love and grace; neither do we worship His Manhood, or any of that complex nature of ours which he has assumed. We neither worship His spiritual and intelligent nature, its faculties and powers; nor do we apply ourselves to offer distinct worship to His body or to any organ, part, or member thereof. We worship and adore the Son of God Incarnate, God and Man, One Christ, - Emmanuel, God with us. 26

Homiletic

Of Cardale's opuscula the largest genre is that which the author himself usually terms 'discourses', 'homilies' or 'ministries'. More than half the publications attributed to him fall into this category, which today would more often be termed sermons. The Catholic Apostolic Liturgy, perhaps reacting against the over-emphasis on the sermon as the chief feature of worship in protestantism, or perhaps, being burdened with a highly elaborate liturgy, as a time-saving device, provided not for a sermon between the Gospel and the Creed, but simply for a homily. These homilies, to judge from those circulated in printed form were on the average about ten minutes long,²⁷ a far cry

26 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

27 I am once again grateful to Bishop Luscombe and Father McAusland for making available to me a notice which once hung in the priest's vestry of the Catholic Apostolic Church in Dundee. It reads as follows:

"The intent of the Homily being to encourage devotion rather than instruct the understanding, it should exhort to confidence and not to reproach or rebuke; it should soothe the spirit, rather than teach the intellect.

The Preacher of the Homily will keep in mind

from Irving's sermons which first drew Cardale and other disciples to the Caledonian Road and planted the seeds of the Catholic Apostolic Church. The 119 liturgical addresses contained in *Homilies Preached at Albury* all conform to this ten-minute rule.²⁸ The ten-minute rule did not mean that proper preaching was neglected. The *General Rubrics* for the conduct of worship in the Church are clear in their intention: "Besides the homily delivered in the celebration of the Eucharist, there should be a sermon or exposition addressed to the faithful, at least once on every Lord's day, for which purpose a congregation is to be specially assembled."²⁹ Furthermore, the Angel was to appoint at his discretion other times for preaching and instruction

that the delivery of it should not occupy more than Ten Minutes.

1. The Homily should be of such character that 10 Minutes ought to be sufficient.

2. The Forenoon Prayers and Eucharist are of considerable length, and those who attend both services should not be wearied by any undue prolongation."

²⁸ The volume contains two addresses for each Sunday or other occasion of the ecclesiastical calendar originally preached by one of the Apostles in their Chapel at Albury. By 1899 it had gone through three editions which suggests it was popular not only as devotional reading but also for use in congregations where an experienced preacher might not be readily available. Cardale's contribution of 29 homilies without exception reflects the positive tone expected in such an address. Their brevity, however, gives little scope for the development of any real sermonic style and their general pattern -- Introduction - Exposition - Appeal -- becomes slightly tedious.

²⁹ Cardale, ed. *General Rubrics*, (London, Strangeways and Walden, 1862), p. 33.

in the churches and chapels under his control.³⁰ Generally speaking, the works now under consideration were probably delivered originally at one of these gatherings.

In 1852 the use of lights and incense became universal in the Catholic Apostolic Church. Some congregations in Scotland, France, Switzerland and Germany had already instituted these ceremonial adjuncts to worship but now the practice was sanctioned for all particular churches. Cardale had spoken favourably about their use in worship in 1849 when the section of *Readings upon the Liturgy* entitled "A dissertation upon the types of the Law"³¹ was published and again in 1851 when the section "The Office of Morning and Evening Prayer"³² appeared. The views contained in *Notes of the teaching upon the rites of burning lights and incense in the worship of God* are obviously the expression of the new official policy of the church, delivered as they are by the Pillars of the four ministries. Cardale defends Christian religious symbolism which fulfils the two-fold criteria that symbols "must not only be constituted by God, but they must be symbolical of things pertaining to the Christian Dispensation."³³ The use of earthly symbolism is a means

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

³¹ See *Readings upon the Liturgy*, vol. 1, pp. 222-223.

³² See *Readings upon the Liturgy*, vol. 1, pp. 493, 496-503.

³³ Cardale, *Notes of the teaching upon the rites of burning lights and incense in the worship of God*, (London, 1852), p. 3.

of entering into more perfect communion with God, it is not an end in itself.

Four of the discourses, published between 1854 and 1868 also deal with worship. They confirm the suspicion that many of those who joined the Catholic Apostolic Church did so to be able to practice Christianity free from wrangling about doctrine and ceremonial in the secular courts:

But while meeting in separate assemblies, because only thus is there the possibility of celebrating the sacraments of the Church, and offering our solemn rites of worship to Almighty God, according to the perfect order of His house and the disposition of His Apostles, yet must we bear in mind that we are not here in order to propagate a sect. 34

The attitude of the worshippers is the critical factor in deciding whether the work of the Catholic Apostolic Church will "advance the cause of Christ, or whether you shall add another sect to the parties which already, by their contests, bring disgrace upon the name, and mar the spiritual patrimony, of the Church."³⁵

The Denison case illustrates the Catholic Apostolic revulsion from sectarian controversy. George Anthony Denison, the Archdeacon of Taunton, was prosecuted between 1854 and 1858 for holding the doctrine of the Real Presence

³⁴ Cardale, *A discourse delivered in the Catholic Apostolic Church, Gordon Square, on the occasion of consecrating the altar, and opening the church for public worship*, (London, Bosworth, 1854), pp. 8-9.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

so as to appear to deny the statement in Article XXIX that the wicked are in no wise partakers of Christ. Denison believed that the inward reality of the sacrament was received by all, wicked and faithful alike, although the wicked derived no virtue therefrom.³⁶ Cardale's *Discourse on the doctrine of the Eucharist* first published in 1856 was a child of this controversy. It is best read in conjunction with his *Discourse on the Real Presence of the Lord* which was a continuation of the same theme, provoked by the continuing convulsions over the mode of the Eucharistic presence among the various factions in the Church of England. Although he has already dealt at some length with these matters in the section of *Readings upon the Liturgy* devoted to the Eucharist, Cardale is not content merely to summarize what he has said previously. He attempts to explain even more fully his sacramental theory which involves a real but spiritual presence. According to Cardale's teaching, the true doctrine involves a firm belief that "a real change has taken place - not in the natural substances, but in their spiritual efficacy and relation ... The presence of the Lord in this sacrament is, then, most real; but it is spiritual and invisible."³⁷ Cardale's theory is very like that of transignification

³⁶ George Anthony Denison, *Fifty Years at East Brent*, ed. L. E. Denison (London, Murray, 1902), p. 59.

³⁷ Cardale, *A discourse on the real presence of the Lord, in the sacrament of the Eucharist*, (London, Bosworth, 1867), p. 14.

proposed today by some Roman Catholic theologians. In addressing the specific point raised in the Denison Case, Cardale's explanation is that all communicants receive both the outward sign of the sacrament and its inward reality, but in a different manner.

The faithful, in receiving the sacrament, spiritually eat His flesh and drink His blood: they receive both sacramentally and spiritually. The wicked, in receiving the sacrament, reject the spiritual and most precious food conveyed thereby: they receive sacramentally and not spiritually. 38

In 1868 the Apostles "in the clear light of the prophetic word and with the unanimous adhesion of all the ministers given to the Apostles as their immediate counsellors and fellow-labourers"³⁹ gave their sanction to the introduction of Holy Water in the ceremonies of the Catholic Apostolic Church and provided a rite for the removal and consumption of the Sacrament consecrated the previous Sunday and replaced by newly consecrated elements. The tract dealing with this innovation reveals the caution with which the four remaining Apostles sanctioned a practice which had been desired as long ago as 1846 and introduced a fresh ceremony. Consultation has obviously preceded the decision; Cardale's discourse is an appeal for

38 Cardale, *A discourse on the doctrine of the Eucharist, as revealed to the Apostle Paul and delivered by him to the Church*, 2nd ed. (London, Bosworth, 1876), p. 16.

39 Cardale, *A discourse on Holy Water, and on the removal of the Sacrament on the Lord's Day*, (London, Strangeways and Walden, 1868), p. 21.

good hearted following of their lead, and outlines the spiritual signigicance and suitability of the innovations. Cardale's argument is typological, arguing from the brass laver and the Shewbread of the Temple to the suitability of using Holy Water on entering a church building and of reserving the consecrated elements. There was particular reference to the symbolism of water in both Testaments ⁴⁰ and to the desirability of the worshippers being in spiritual union with the priest who always washes his hands before celebrating. ⁴¹ As was the case with the introduction of lights and incense in 1852, it is made very clear that this is not 'spikiness', ceremonial for ceremonial's sake:

any increase in outward forms is a most serious call upon us for growth in spiritual life and earnestness of devotion. Vain it is to add to outward observances, unless faith and godliness, reverence and piety and devotedness, are proportionally brought into exercise. ⁴²

One of the most characteristic practices of members of the Catholic Apostolic Church was tithing. Payment of the tithe was not a legal exaction, for the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, but it was a moral obligation, in obedience to the plain teaching of scripture. Cardale makes it clear that "the paying of tithes by Christian men, and the disposing of them by the apostles of Christ, are

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-8.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

acts of faith, which can only be fulfilled in faith ..."⁴³

Tithes are not to be confused with the payment of taxes, nor considered as payments for services rendered by the clergy, who must not administer the rites and sacraments of the Church for fee or reward, profit or emolument.⁴⁴

Similarly for the clergy to influence or control the faithful in the matter of the disposal of their earthly goods in any way except by instructing them in right principles of conduct

is nothing less than the repetition of the crying sin of the Papacy - the sin of all worldly priests, whenever they have it in their power - the endeavour, through the means of spiritual functions, to obtain jurisdiction, and to exercise power in temporal affairs. ⁴⁵

This last quotation is typical of the references to abuses in the Roman Church which occur with sufficient regularity in Cardale's writings⁴⁶ to clear himself of any charges of

⁴³ Cardale, *A discourse upon the obligation of tithe*, (rpt. 1892; London, Pitman, 1858), p. 23.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

⁴⁵ Cardale, *The Duty of a Christian in the Disposal of his income*, (London, Bosworth and Harrison, 1863), p. 5.

⁴⁶ For example, see Cardale, *On Miracles and Miraculous Powers*, (London, Bosworth and Harrison, 1856), pp. 28-29; Cardale, *A discourse delivered in the Catholic Apostolic Church, Gordon Square, on the occasion of consecrating the altar, and opening the church for public worship*, (London, Bosworth, 1854), pp. 13-14; Cardale, *A discourse on the real presence of the Lord, in the sacrament of the Eucharist*, (London, Bosworth, 1867), p. 10; Cardale, *The certainty of the final judgement of all men*, (London, Bosworth and Harrison, 1864), pp. 8-11; Cardale, *Righteousness and holiness*, (London, Bickers, 1888), pp. 23-24.

being a crypto-Roman Catholic: in much the same way as Drummond's speeches purged him of complicity with Rome. There was active anti-Roman preaching in the Catholic Apostolic Church in 1873: "Some three or four years ago an ex-canon of Evreux, who has joined the Irvingite body, was reported to be delivering impassioned philippics against "Vaticanism" at Gordon Square".⁴⁷ This incident was probably a case of a badly-used or trouble-making priest trying to get a bit of his own back by blowing on the embers of anti-Roman prejudice.

Several of Cardale's sermons deal with the ministry of the Catholic Apostolic Church, which was one of its unique aspects, particularly in the revival of the offices of Apostle and Prophet. Although three discourses he delivered in 1856 are entitled *On Miracles and Miraculous Powers*, their actual substance does not really concern miracles but rather is to show that apostleship is of the essence of the Church. In reply to outside critics, Cardale shows that miracles are not the ordinary credentials of God's messengers nor the proper credentials of Apostles in the Christian Church. His object is "to refute the notion, that those who believe in God *are entitled* to withhold their credence from His ministers, until he shall see fit to give them this particular sign of their mission."⁴⁸

⁴⁷ "The Irvingite Apostolate", *Saturday Review*, vol. 44 (28 July 1877), p. 105.

⁴⁸ Cardale, *On Miracles and Miraculous Powers*, (London, Bosworth and Harrison, 1856), p. 51.

Those who seek miraculous signs as proof of an extraordinary office are wrong.

Our answer, then, to those who require the performance of miracles as the proof of apostleship, because, as they assert, the office of apostle is extraordinary, is this:-We are not looking for the creation of an extraordinary office, but for the supplying of an office that has long been vacant - a vacancy to which innumerable evils are to be traced. We are not expecting a new development of the Church: we wait for a renewal of a state of development, from which the Church has receded. It is abundantly evident, that in the original constitution of the Church, apostles were constituent members - their ministry was not extraordinary. The ministry of bishops was co-existent with the ministry of apostles; and under the guidance of apostles, bishops fulfilled their proper functions. From this we are warranted in concluding, that the ministry of the apostles was essential to the bishops for the due fulfilment of their functions; and that both ministries, both apostles and bishops, were, and are, essential to the well-being of the Church and the perfecting of the saints. 49

Cardale here alludes to the differentiation always made in the Catholic Apostolic Church between the ministry of apostles, who are angels with jurisdiction over the universal Church, and bishops who are angels with jurisdiction over particular churches. He elaborates the Catholic Apostolic stance that they are not adding anything new to the constitution of the Church, merely supplying what had long been in abeyance. In accomplishing this work the Catholic Apostolic Apostles have, guided by the Spirit, ordained men to the sacred ministry and authorized

liturgical assemblies. But this separation has been a temporary necessity and is not schism nor an expression of superiority to and exclusiveness from the existing Church. The existing Church is not perfect, but it is God's Church. In constituting themselves under the Apostles at Albury, members of the Catholic Apostolic Church are banding together to do God's work.

Our present work is not by the exercise of mighty power to glorify ourselves, as distinguished from the rest of our brethren; but to infuse whatever strength of faith and power of the Holy Ghost we may have received, into the bosom of our Mother; that the things that are weak and ready to die may be strengthened, and the glory of Christ in the midst of the whole Church may be magnified. And gradually this work shall be accomplished. Faith among those who truly love God, and desire this honour, shall be increased; love and holiness confirmed. 50

The twelve-member Apostolic College centered at Albury only remained intact for five years, as Duncan Mackenzie withdrew from the exercise of his office in 1840. After this crisis their work continued quietly but in relative obscurity until 1853 when first, the series of unfortunate articles by E. B. Pusey appeared in *The Old Church Porch* and second, their church building in Gordon Square, London, was opened for worship, the altar being consecrated on Christmas Eve of that year. The publicity attendant on these events gave impetus to the movement, but only two years later three of the Apostles - Carlyle, Dow and the 'retired' Mackenzie - died. Within the next decade they

were followed to the grave by Perceval, Drummond, Tudor, King-Church and Sitwell. Within a generation of the Separation of the Apostles in 1835 only one-third of the twelve remained. Here was a crisis of increasing severity for as the Second Coming was expected during the Apostles' lifetime there was no provision for filling up the number as in the case of the original Twelve, nor could angels be consecrated except by an Apostle.

The solution to this problem was found in the appointment of Coadjutors to the Apostles. The idea first arose in 1838 but until 1852 when certain rules were laid down for the employment of such persons, nothing was done. These rules provided that each Apostle, with the approval of his brethren might appoint an angel to be his Coadjutor; in addition an Apostle could nominate, in like manner, for any Tribe not originally under his care, but committed to him temporarily; and that Coadjutors once chosen should be admitted to the councils of the Apostles. During the year 1860 in response to a word of prophecy Charles Böhm and William Rennie Caird were appointed Coadjutors, for North and South Germany respectively⁵¹, under the Apostle Woodhouse who had added oversight of Carlyle's Tribe to his other responsibilities towards South Germany and Austria. In both 1865 and 1870 Cardale preached on the

⁵¹ T. Kolde, "Catholic Apostolic Church", *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, ed. Samuel Macauley Jackson (New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1909), vol. 2, p. 459.

ministry of Coadjutors. The first, *Notes of a Ministry on the Office of Coadjutor, and particularly on the office of coadjutor to an Apostle*, like the second, *Homily delivered in the Assembly of the Seven Churches*, was preached the day before candidates were presented to the Apostles and from whom they were to choose suitable associates. In the first work Cardale builds on the teaching of St. Paul in I Cor. 12:27-30 and shows that the office of 'Help' or Coadjutor is a distinct and essential part of the Body of Christ. "Consistently with the view thus presented by the Apostle Paul, we have learned, in the light thrown in these last days upon the law of Moses, that every principal minister should have his help."⁵² However, careful and full explanation is needed in order to guard against a wrong understanding of what is intended by taking this step. The Coadjutor is "the consort, the faithful support, the chosen and secret counsellor of the Principal."⁵³ In the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches coadjutors always have the right of succeeding their principal but this is emphatically not the case in the Catholic Apostolic Church.

In appointing Coadjutors, we are not making provision for the failure, from whatever cause, of the Principal ... When the Principal ceases from his charge, the Coadjutor ceases from his office ... We must therefore dismiss from our minds the idea that

⁵² Cardale, *Notes of a Ministry on the office of Coadjutor, and particularly on the office of Coadjutor to an Apostle*, (London, Strangeways, 1865), p. 6.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

in choosing Coadjutors, the Apostles are providing ministers who will remain in office after the decease of those who choose them. 54

While thus limited, the Coadjutor's office is nevertheless very important for Coadjutors assist in carrying out the work of perpetual intercession at Albury in the Apostles' Chapel, share in the secret councils of the Apostles and carry the grace of Apostleship to the Tribes, perhaps their most important function in the eyes of the ordinary follower.

The fulness of Apostolic grace is dispensed through the Coadjutor: one with the Apostle in the Spirit, distinct from him in person; the same grace through a different man, and with equal authority though through a subordinate minister; Apostolic benediction through one who is not an Apostle, but by the absent Apostle through his Coadjutor present; all the grace and power, both towards ministers and people, which the Apostle, if present, could convey to them; for He, the Holy Ghost, effects it, who is the bond by which the whole Church, including the Apostleship is one, as the Father and the Son are one. He makes the Apostle, absent in body, to be present with the Coadjutor in spirit. And thus the prerogative of the Apostolic office, - of Jesus, the Apostle, - is preserved inviolate, while the full discharge of all its functions is provided for. 55

The place of the office of Prophet in the Catholic Apostolic Church was outlined in *A short discourse on prophesying and the ministry of the prophet in the Christian Church* delivered by Cardale in 1868. The supremacy of

54 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

55 Cardale, *Homily delivered in the assembly of the Seven Churches on Tuesday, Jan. 11th, 1870*, (London, Strangeways and Walden, 1870), p. 9.

Apostles over Prophets and their utterances was established during the crisis of 1840, and this discourse repeats the decisions reached then. The gift of prophecy is given generally to the Church, and is exercised by Prophets only in deference to the Church and without interfering with the spheres of work of other ministers. In the Universal Church Prophets are subject to the Apostles, in a Particular Church they are subject to the Angel of that church; "they who speak by the Holy Ghost are not the judge of their own words: the Ruler is the judge."⁵⁶ The true Prophet is not a mere vagabond instrument but one responsible to both God and the Church for every word he utters.

The order of angel, as bishops in the Catholic Apostolic Church were styled, after the example of Revelation 2 and 3, has as its most characteristic work the leading of the intercessions of the people. In his *Address to the Churches in London*, Cardale urges his hearers, clergy and laity, "to unite with the Angel and sustain him in this blessed act of Intercession, this work ordained by God in His pitifulness and mercy towards His people who have gone away from Him. It is your duty and your privilege."⁵⁷ The distinctive work of one holding the office of elder is, "in the district committed to his charge, by all means in

⁵⁶ Cardale, *A short discourse on prophesying and the ministry of the prophet in the Christian Church*, (London, Strangeways and Walden, 1868), p. 9.

⁵⁷ Cardale, *An address to the churches in London*, (London, Strangeways, 1873), p. 6.

his power to bring to those under his charge the several ministries of the House of God."⁵⁸ In other words he is to see that the ministry of the Pastor, the Prophet, the Evangelist and the Deacons and Deaconesses is made available to the members of a congregation.

The remainder of this category of sermonic publications contains various material illustrative of Cardale's religious and theological preoccupations. *The substance of two discourses ... on ... certain errors regarding God's purposes towards mankind* is a careful refutation of a curious Christian doctrinal deviation apparently imported from Germany popularly called the Neck Heresy. "It is a system of Pagan cosmogony, engrafted on modern German pantheism."⁵⁹ As it did violence to both the orthodox Christian view of history and to the doctrine of the Incarnation, Cardale is at pains to point out its errors as well as to define the truth. *The certainty of the final judgement of all men* and *Four discourse addressed principally to the young* are apparently intended for older teenagers - unless those of tenderer years in Cardale's time had reached greater religious maturity than those of similar age today. These works lay particular emphasis on the necessity for living an upright and moral life, for attempting to become more and more

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁵⁹ Cardale, *The substance of two discourses delivered in the Apostles' chapel at Albury on the subject of certain errors regarding God's purposes towards mankind*, (London, Barclay, 1860), p. 36.

like Christ, for making life in the heavenly country our final goal. They are typical evangelical themes, carefully driven home. Righteousness and holiness as twin characteristics of the faithful Christian must have been a favourite theme of Cardale's, for in addition to his address under the title in *Four discourses* a more extensive Advent sermon with the same title was published posthumously. The expectation of and desire for the consummation of the age pervades these works and is rather more explicitly dealt with in *Christ's disciples must suffer tribulation*, delivered in 1869 when only four Apostles remained, and perhaps some discouragement had set in among the faithful at the lack of success attending their work and at the delay apparent in the Lord's coming. Tribulation and persecution are seen as part of the Christian life. Yet such tribulation should breed hope for the end is at hand. "All things are ready. The work is well-nigh finished. The time is at hand when living and departed shall meet together in the presence of the Lord; and the First-fruits to God and the Lamb shall be presented before the throne of God ..."⁶⁰

This theme of encouragement in the face of a deterioration in numbers in the Apostolic College and a lack of more visible and tangible results after nearly four decades of labour occurs in the sermons given at the close

⁶⁰ Cardale, *Christ's disciples must suffer tribulation*, (London, Strangeways and Walden, 1869), p. 14.

of the official visitation of the churches in London in 1871 and 1873. In *The fourfold ministry*, after addresses by the Pastor, Evangelist and Prophet, Cardale as Apostle speaks to his followers, almost wistfully, about their present condition but also exhorts his fellow clergy to be diligent in the discharge of their duties in the light of the crisis before them.

I beseech you, then, my brother ministers, to be diligent in instructing, and especially in instructing the young in faith and young in years. I beseech you, parents and god parents and guardians of youth, to be earnest in educating your children and wards in the true faith, and in bringing them to all means of instruction. I beseech you, my children in the Lord, the young persons in the Churches, to give yourselves up to the Lord to study to learn His ways, and to be diligent from your earliest years in his service. 61

The emphasis on the formation of the young contained in this ministry as well as in works such as *The certainty of the final judgement of all men* and *Four discourses addressed principally to the young* are doubtless the fruit not simply of Cardale's pastoral insight that the younger generation is the natural hope for the future in any group but also of his own experience in bringing up a family into which fourteen children were born. It recurs in the *Address to the churches in London*. "I exhort and entreat all parents, as they value their own souls, to take care that their children are educated in the faith of the

61 Cardale and others, *The Fourfold Ministry*, (London, Strangeways and Walden, 1871), p. 28.

Church"⁶². The formation of the young includes among other things an explanation of the duty of marrying a partner already a member of the Catholic Apostolic Church. "Our young people ought never to allow those feelings which lead to marriage to grow up in their hearts towards any who cannot with full apprehension, and in good conscience, worship with them at the same altar."⁶³ This involves sacrifice, but it is absolutely necessary if members of the Catholic Apostolic Church are to avoid the evils which pervade society and live lives worthy of their calling.

Cardale's rhetorical style as seen in his homiletic writings is one by and large better suited to the lecture room than the pulpit. He generally expresses himself clearly but plainly and only occasionally does he reach what might be called oratory. Yet when he does, he never fails to move his reader. If he can accomplish that by the printed word, how much more effective these typical passages must have been coming at the culmination of a sermon, set within the walls of God's house?

Such is the Gospel I have laboured to impart to you - Christ present in His Church, Christ in you the hope of glory, Christ the beginning, the continuation, and the consummation of your salvation, Christ the Alpha and the Omega, the First and the Last, Who hath come, Who is present,

⁶² Cardale, *An address to the churches in London*, (London, Strangeways, 1873), p. 9.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Who is to come, the same yesterday, today, and forever, our Wisdom, our Righteousness, our Sanctification, our Redemption. 64

And if you be strong in faith, you will joyfully acquiesce in this dispensation of God. You will joyfully receive into your own heart the godly fear of the righteous judgement of the Most High, as well as the emotions of love which the Holy Ghost inspires in you towards God your Father, and the Lord Jesus your Redeemer and Saviour. God influences all his intelligent creatures through various affections. And while perfect love casts out that slavish fear which has torment, it strengthens that godly fear which is the beginning of wisdom and the very basis of love itself. For love of God your Saviour, devote yourselves to Him; for love of Him strive that you may be nearer and nearer to him both now and through all eternity; for love of him hate and abhor all that is contrary to his holy mind! 65

Labour then, my dearly beloved in the Lord; labour unceasingly in the work of God, for you labour for them that sleep as well as for them that remain. You labour for the renewal of every obstacle and hindrance which the flesh and the world can interpose. You labour for the development and growth of the whole Body, of which all the Elect, both living and departed, are, and shall forever remain, members incorporate. You labour, that the bishops, priests and deacons, and all baptized into Christ - all who believe in Christ, all who love Him - may awake to the hope set before them in the Gospel, may avail themselves of the means and opportunity of preparation which God vouchsafes to them, and so may become willing subjects of that Divine instrumentality, by which alone they can be brought to perfection. 66

64 Cardale, *Righteousness and holiness*, (London, Bickers, 1888), p. 36.

65 Cardale, *The certainty of the final judgement of all men*, (London, Bosworth and Harrison, 1864), p. 22.

66 Cardale, *A word of ministry on the day of the comemoration of All Saints*, (London, Barclay, 1859), pp. 7-8.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SHAPE OF CARDALE'S LITURGY

Today the Catholic Apostolic Church is best known for its liturgical life. Writers of deeply differing convictions pass complimentary remarks about its excellence¹ and contemporary accounts of its celebration, even by hostile reporters, convey a sense of its symbolic grandeur and its effectiveness as a vehicle for worship.² The liturgy is, however, important for several more significant reasons. The regularity with which new English editions appeared during Cardale's lifetime³ shows his constant preoccupation with the subject as well as the development of his own liturgical expertise and canons of judgement; his *Readings upon the Liturgy* with its various parts written over the same period provides a rationale and a theological commentary as well as occasional information about his sources. The only nineteenth century scholars who began historical work in liturgiology earlier than Cardale were the Roman Catholic Prosper Gueranger working at the Abbey of Solesmes (whose voluminous *Institutions liturgiques*

¹ J. H. Nichols, *Corporate Worship in the Reformed Tradition*, (Philadelphia, Westminster, 1968), pp. 157-158. Desmond Morse-Boycott, *They Shine Like Stars*, (London, Skeffington, 1947), pp. 198, 307-308.

² C. M. Davies, *Unorthodox London*, (London, Tinsley Brothers, 1873), pp. 146-155.

³ 1838, 1842-3, 1847, 1851, 1853, 1856, 1863, 1869.

and *L'Annee liturgique* were published between 1840 and 1866) and the Anglican William Palmer who published *Origines Liturgicae* in 1832. Two other Anglicans - William Maskell who published *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England* in 1844 and *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* in 1846 and John Mason Neale who published a work on the Gallican liturgy in 1855 and on the Eastern rites in 1859 - were working contemporaneously with Cardale, although he makes no mention of their works depending rather on seventeenth and eighteenth century sources.

The ceremonial enrichment of Catholic Apostolic worship is noteworthy as it predates the establishment of similar practices within the Church of England. Stone altars were first set up in the Apostles' Chapel, Albury in 1838, eucharistic vestments were introduced along with the first edition of the Liturgy in 1842-1843, lights, reservation of the sacrament and incense were all introduced in 1852 and holy water in 1868 - in each case well in advance of similar innovations in the Church of England. After being introduced into Anglican parishes each was declared illegal by one or other of the various Ecclesiastical Courts,⁴ although ultimately being tolerated, even if not accepted officially. Freedom from relationship to the State was a positive advantage in these matters, as Cardale noted when discussing the suitability of the use of the sanctuary lamp,

⁴ See the useful chart of judicial decisions in Peter F. Anson, *Fashions in Church Furnishings: 1840-1940*, (London, Faith Press, 1960), pp. 213-214.

"the Lord gives by Apostles that which he does not give by legislative acts of the State ..."⁵

The third important feature of the Liturgy was its widespread dissemination. During Cardale's lifetime, in addition to the numerous English and several Scottish editions, the Liturgy was also published in French, German, Swiss/French, Swiss/German, Flemish, Wendish, Danish and Dutch. After his death, Swedish, Lettish, Estonian and Polish editions appeared.⁶ This wide linguistic range suggests at least enough church activity among each of the groups represented to make the production of a special edition of the Liturgy worthwhile pastorally, if not feasible financially, but only access to the Apostles' records could confirm this point.

Finally, Cardale's liturgical work was important because of its influence on other liturgies. Major influences can be seen within the American German Reformed Church, the Church of Scotland and the French Reformed Church through the work led by Philip Schaff and John Williamson Nevin, the members of the Church Service Society and Eugene Bersier respectively. Minor influences can be noted in the work of W. E. Orchard, the Free Church Book of Common Prayer and in the liturgy of the German Lutheran Church.⁷

⁵ J. B. Cardale, *On the sanctuary lamp*, (London, 1852), p. 10.

⁶ See chart D in K. W. Stevenson, *The Catholic Apostolic Eucharist*, (Southampton University Ph.D. thesis, 1975)

⁷ K. W. Stevenson, *The Catholic Apostolic Eucharist* (Southampton University Ph.D. thesis, 1975), pp. 85-206, passim.

The Eucharist

Once the Apostles had been formally separated, the Catholic Apostolic Church became an identifiable group. Independent congregations of like-minded evangelical, pneumatic and eschatological Christians inclining towards the Catholic Apostolic Church had existed as far back as March 1832 when Edward Irving was removed from the pastoral charge of the Regent Square Church; Henry Drummond in July of the same year withdrew from the parish church at Albury and gathered just over forty others in a group which met each Sunday at his home for worship.⁸ Similar congregations existed in many parts of Great Britain. Like them, Drummond's congregation felt their deprivation from Holy Communion keenly, but as they had no clergyman as a member, the Albury flock were forced to visit London and receive at Irving's Newman Street church and to wait along with the other congregations in expectation of divine revelation. The revelation came on 7 November 1832 when John Bate Cardale was called to the apostolate. Cardale's first apostolic act was to recognize William Rennie Caird in the office of evangelist. Seven weeks later, on 26 December, Cardale ordained Drummond as Angel of the Albury flock, authorized him to celebrate the Eucharist and charged him to be faithful in his duties. Now that a ministry was established, the sacramental life of the congregations could be

⁸ Rowland A. Davenport, *Albury Apostles*, (London, United Writers, 1970), p. 88.

revived.

Precisely what liturgy was used during the earliest years is not clear. Presumably Irving would have celebrated the Lord's Supper according to the Westminster Directory with which most of his congregation, being of Presbyterian background, would have been familiar. Drummond may have used the form of the Book of Common Prayer with which he and most of his congregation were familiar. This is only guess work, yet there is a high degree of probability that in the formative period, perhaps until the Separation of the Apostles in 1835, there was no official form of service, but that after the fashion of the primitive Church each local leader used his own form. The monthly celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, already an advance in the contemporary Presbyterian and Anglican practice of quarterly celebrations, became a weekly celebration in 1836 and two years later a temporary liturgy was prepared and sent to each of the angels. It is more a directory for eucharistic worship than an actual liturgy, but does show the seeds of future development.⁹

Presumably preceded by Scripture reading, prayer and preaching, the order begins with the Offertory. Deacons bring the elements to the Elders, who in turn place them on the Holy Table; a Confession and Absolution follow, together with a prayer for acceptance of the gifts and of the faith of the Church, as well as intercession for the

⁹ P. E. Shaw, *The Catholic Apostolic Church*, pp. 104-106.

living and departed. The Consecration of the bread and wine take place separately and are followed when the people are 'sufficiently instructed' by the Sanctus and the Gloria in Excelsis respectively. The Bread is distributed immediately after being consecrated, before the consecration of the Wine. After Communion there is a psalm of praise with the Gloria Patri and a Blessing. The Presbyterian heritage may be seen in the lack of a Liturgy of the Word, the character of the consecratory formula and the concluding psalm of praise. The variety of prayers, especially those commemorating the departed, the linking of thanksgiving for Creation with gratitude for Redemption, and the invocation of the Holy Spirit as the active agent in the Consecration are indications of an Eastern influence in the compilation of the rite.

This rite may have produced uniformity, but cannot have satisfied the growing church, many of whose members would have had an Anglican background; obviously it did not satisfy Cardale and the other Apostles. Accordingly, liturgical studies continued at Albury.

Two basic principles governed the approach to worship. It must be in accord with Holy Scripture and it must gather up into itself every pure and precious thing which had been developed in the Church in all past ages through the guidance of the Spirit of Christ. Two facts were assumed as fundamental, the paramount authority of the Bible and the continued existence of the Church as the Body of Christ and the Temple of the Holy Ghost. No system of worship could be at once pure and catholic in which these were not reconciled. 10

Traditional liturgical vestments and a printed liturgy were in use at Albury in 1842, and the following year the first general edition of the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy was published. Here Cardale's liturgical skill first expresses itself. Revisions reflecting Cardale's maturing theological and liturgical mind continued to appear throughout his lifetime - the principal ones in 1847 and 1851, those of other years being of a minor character to accommodate new ceremonial additions such as incense (1853) and holy water (1869).¹¹ The Liturgy Cardale finally produced was a far cry from the form of 1838. That simple earliest form while not satisfying Cardale devotionally or liturgically, none the less fulfilled the basic shape of the liturgy as he understood it.

That which is essential to the true sacrament of the holy Eucharist is, that bread and wine be consecrated to be the body and blood of Christ - that is to say, be solemnly set apart and declared to be His body and His blood, by one ordained to perform this act - to the intent that they may be ultimately consumed by the faithful.

And the things essential to the true form of celebrating the sacrament of the Eucharist consist of the following particulars, and succeed in the following order:- First, Oblation of bread and wine, which have been already set apart for holy use, - that as the Lord took into His sacred hands the bread, and afterwards the cup, which had been already employed in the paschal feast, so bread and wine, brought up by the congregation and presented for God's service, shall now be separated and set apart by oblation to God on His altar. Second, Solemn

Thanksgiving unto Almighty God for His goodness, not only in respect of our creation and preservation, but in the immediate contemplation of that sacrifice which we are about to commemorate and shew forth. Third, The bread shall be solemnly blessed, and by word consecrated to be the body of Jesus Christ; and the wine shall be solemnly blessed and by word consecrated to be the blood of Jesus Christ. Fourth, That the sacrament thus consecrated shall be solemnly presented before Almighty God, as a sweet savour and memorial of the merits of the sacrifice of Christ, through which we look for every blessing, even for remission of sins and eternal life. Fifth, That the Sacrament thus consecrated shall be consumed by being delivered as the body and blood of Christ to the faithful, and eaten and drunk by them.

Such are the essential elements and such the essential form and order, of the sacrament of the Eucharist. Where these essential elements are wanting, there is no sacrament: but where they are introduced - that is, wherever there are a true and valid consecration and consummation of the Sacrament - there all the parts of the form and order of the Sacrament are virtually and in effect fulfilled; although some of them should be omitted in detail, or although they should be disturbed from their due course of succession. 12

On this clearly understood foundation Cardale erected a widely admired and influential Eucharistic liturgy, his principal literary monument. Cardale was familiar with Eastern Patristic sources and incorporated some prayers from or inspired by ancient Eastern liturgies into the ordinary of the Catholic Apostolic rite¹³ as well as

¹² John Bate Cardale, *Readings upon the Liturgy*, (London, Pitman, 1898), vol. I, p. 34. Hereafter *RL*.

¹³ Notably the introductory prayer, 'O God who by the blood of Thy dear Son ...', p. 3, and the final prayers before holy Communion, 'Lord Jesu Christ ...' and 'O Holy Ghost, Comforter, Spirit of Truth ...', p. 43. (*RL*, I,

Eastern elements like the epiclesis in the consecration and more frequent references to the work of the Third Person of the Trinity than is common in Western rites. Still, his liturgy is essentially a Western rite. It contains none of the litanies which characterize Eastern worship, neither is it punctuated as is the Orthodox Liturgy with frequent references to the Blessed Virgin,¹⁴ nor does it evoke the mystical, other-worldly aura generated by the Divine Liturgy which is chiefly celebrated in a sanctuary behind closed doors. Eastern as well as Western sources combined to contribute to the establishment of the centrality of the Eucharist as the focal point of each week's worship, to the inclusion of the whole Church, living and departed as participants in the beneficiaries from the sacred action, and to the richness and beauty of the service in its liturgical and ceremonial setting.

Cardale found his chief sources of ancient liturgies in the classic liturgical studies of seventeenth-century Roman Catholic pioneers: the Dominican Jacques Goar's Greek texts from his *Euchologion*, first published in 1647, Merati's eighteenth-century edition of the *Thesaurus*

pp. 45, 194, 195). Other sources and parallels unacknowledged by Cardale have been documented in Kenneth William Stevenson, *The Catholic Apostolic Eucharist*, (Southampton University Ph.D. thesis, 1975), pp. 85-206 and Chart A/III.

¹⁴ The Blessed Virgin Mary is commemorated, with the rest of the departed, at every celebration. As Mother of God and Type of the Church she is worthy of the love and veneration of Christians, but not of their worship. (RL, I, pp. 190, 203-204, 531.

sacrorum rituum, by the Barnabite liturgical scholar Bartolommeo Gavanti, published between 1736 and 1738 and Cardinal Bona's *Rerum liturgicarum libri duo*, the premier comprehensive history of the Mass, published in 1671. *De antiquis ecclesiae vitibus editio secundus*, four volumes of the Maurist Edmond Martene, published between 1735 and 1738, is Cardale's chief source of Western, especially Gallican, texts. These and other similar texts which can probably still be found in the Apostles Library at Albury put at Cardale's disposal a wealth of material unknown to the liturgists of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Cardale is no slave to his sources. The freedom which he shows in handling materials from Orthodox, Roman and Anglican sources as well as in interpolating his own composition shows a healthy independence of judgement in being unwilling to accept any extant liturgy as a suitable vehicle for Catholic Apostolic worship.

The Catholic Apostolic Eucharist is divided by Cardale into two parts: the introductory or Preparatory Office and the Eucharistic Office proper. The Preparatory Office begins with an Invocation, in the traditional form, a Confession and Absolution followed by versicles and responses and a Prayer of Approach from the liturgy of the Syrian Jacobites.¹⁵ The Kyries, in sixfold form together with the Gloria in Excelsis (in the Roman liturgical position), lead to the Collect for the season. This

¹⁵ RL, I, p. 45.

provision of seasonal rather than weekly collects is a peculiarity of this rite, and one of its affinities with the Orthodox Liturgy and ancient Western rites. Proper collects and proper Anthems after the Epistle are provided for Christmas Day and its octave, the Circumcision and its octave, the Sunday after Circumcision to Palm Sunday, Palm Sunday and Holy Week, Easter Day to the Ascension, the Sunday after the Ascension to the Eve of Pentecost and Whitsunday to Christmas. The seasonal Collects, with the exception of the one for Pentecost which is an original composition are all taken from the Book of Common Prayer. Additional collects for Advent, Christmas Eve, the Presentation and its octave, and for the feasts of All Angels and All Saints are also appointed to be said at the appropriate times. They too, with the exception of the second and with a slight modification of the last, are from the Book of Common Prayer. Epistles and Gospels are provided for every Sunday of the year. All but about ten percent are the same as those provided in the Book of Common Prayer; of these variations about half are derived from the Roman lections for the corresponding week and the rest, the Epistles for Circumcision, Quadragesima II (Lent II) and Pentecost, the Gospels for Quadragesima V (Passion Sunday), Palm Sunday and Maunday Thursday and both readings on the Commemoration of All Saints are original provisions. The reason for these changes is not clear in all cases. The Pentecost Epistle, Ephesians 4:4-16, is understandably provided as this passage about the unity of the Church and

its perfection under the four ministries of Apostle, Prophet, Evangelist and Pastor is the key scriptural touchstone of the Catholic Apostolic Church; the Palm Sunday Gospel relates the events of the day rather than being a Passion Narrative as in the Roman and Anglican Rites; the Maundy Thursday Gospel similarly relates Christ's giving of the New Commandment rather than being a reading of the Passion. The account of our Lord's Passion is only read (in the Johannine version) on the actual day of the commemoration of the events it narrates, Good Friday. With the exception of Good Friday the Anthems after the Epistle are arrangements of Scripture passages chiefly from apocalyptic material in *Psalms* or *Isaiah*. After a Homily the Nicene Creed is recited, except (following Anglican precedent in Morning Prayer) on Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and All Saints when the Creed of Saint Athanasius is said. The Offertory with its Sentences and Prayer of Offertory for the acceptance of the tithes and gifts presented to God and placed on the Table of Prothesis (although given an Eastern name this is a table equivalent to the Western Credence, where sufficient bread and wine for the Eucharist and subsequent weekday Communion Services has already been prepared before the service begins) brings the Preparatory Office to a close.

Apart from the celebrant obtaining the Book of the Gospels from the Altar for the use of the Deacon and, if he also be the preacher, delivering his homily from the sanctuary steps, the whole of the Preparatory Office is

conducted from the choir. The Eucharistic Office begins with an invariable Anthem of Introit, during which the celebrant and his assistant ministers enter the sanctuary, place the bread and wine and necessary vessels on the Altar and charge the thurible. The oblations are not censed, the deacon who has charge of the thurible simply goes and kneels behind the sacred ministers. After the Orate Fratres and its response, taken directly from the Roman Rite, the Prayer of Oblation, an original composition using Eastern and Anglican materials, offering the bread and wine as well as the being of the worshippers and asking that the sacrament may be a means of grace, is recited by the celebrant, all kneeling. All rise for the Salutation and Preface. The Preface is a much longer recital of the facts of creation and redemption and represents a return to the practice of Justin Martyr and the Apostolic Constitutions, the most ancient of precedents.¹⁶ Eight propers, for the usual Catholic Apostolic observances, are provided. Just as Cranmer departed from the general liturgical tradition of East and West in positioning the Lord's Prayer after the reception of holy Communion, rather than after the Consecration and before holy Communion, so Cardale departs from the tradition by placing the Prayer before the Consecration.

The propriety of introducing the prayer at this time will appear from a consideration of its contents. The terms in which it is

¹⁶ *RL*, I, p. 146-147.

expressed are remarkably applicable to this sacrament, and evidently calculated to prepare us for the act of consecration, rather than for that on communion; they seem to point to the consecration, and the worship consequent thereon, as future; rather than to imply that the holy gifts have been already consecrated, and the worship actually offered. 17

All have been kneeling for the Lord's Prayer; the Celebrant rises and proceeds with the Consecration which after Eastern and Presbyterian models features a separate consecration prayer for each of the elements. Although he recognizes the action of the Holy Spirit in sanctifying the elements,¹⁸ Cardale's directions for the actual consecration rite are obviously in the Western tradition. The Words of Institution are emphasized by being printed in capitals, as in the Roman Missal and the rubrics direct the celebrant not only to take each of the vessels in which elements are to be consecrated into his hands but to repeat the words 'This is my Body', 'This cup is the New Testament in my Blood' secretly but distinctly over each vessel as appropriate.¹⁹ The Prayer of Oblation after Consecration follows, offering the consecrated Gifts to God after a short anamnesis and pleading Christ's unique sacrifice; during eight observances, not precisely the same as those provided

17 RL, I, p. 154.

18 *The Liturgy and Other Divine Offices of the Church*, (London, Strangeways and Walden, 1869), p. 29. Hereafter *Liturgy*.

19 *General Rubrics*, (London, Strangeways and Walden, 1862), pp. 9-10. Hereafter *Rubrics*.

for in the proper prefaces, a special thematic clause is added to the prayer. The thurible is once again charged by the celebrant who 'waves it not less than three times, letting the smoke freely ascend',²⁰ as the unchanging text of the Incense Anthem is sung by the choir. It is then returned to the deacon who keeps it burning throughout the intercessory prayers which follow as a physical symbol of the prayers ascending to God. The intercessions themselves are of considerable length, fourteen being offered in the Commemoration of the Living (for the Church and ministry, for sinners, for rulers and nations, for children, for the heathen, for temporal well being and for those in adversity including the dying), and two (for the faithful departed and for the Blessed Virgin Mary, the saints and other departed worthies) in the Commemoration of the Departed. The offering of these intercessions lies at the heart of the Eucharist as sacrificial worship:

for if, having before us the holy gifts consecrated to God, and to be afterwards consumed by us in the same act of worship, we make prayers and intercessions for ourselves or others, we do in effect offer those gifts as a sacrifice for those whom we pray, whether we make use of that exact form of words or not. 21

This is very much in keeping with Roman theory and practice; in the Orthodox rite virtually the same 'suffrages express in litany form the intercessions of the congregation before

20 *Rubrics*, p. 10.

21 *RL*, I, p. 175.

the Creed and after the Consecration.²² The Concluding Prayer before Communion brings the Oblation after the Consecration to a close. This beautiful prayer, an original composition by Cardale, expresses liturgically the eschatological longing which pervades the outlook of the Catholic Apostolic Church as well as giving an insight into the manly and biblical devotional outlook of the framer of this liturgy. Having shown forth Christ's death until he come, that coming is earnestly implored:

Hasten, O God, the time when Thou shalt send from Thy right hand Him, whom Thou wilt send; at whose appearing the saints departed shall be raised, and we, which are alive, shall be caught up to meet Him, and so shall ever be with Him. Under the veil of earthly things we have now communion with Him: but with unveiled face we shall then behold Him, rejoicing in His glory: and by Him we, with all thy Church, holy and unspotted, shall be presented with exceeding joy, before the presence of Thy glory. Hear us, O heavenly Father, for His sake, to Whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, One living and true God, be glory for ever and ever. 23

The intercessory prayers are offered all kneeling, the position prescribed for all prayers of a supplicating nature. The celebrant then rises and first places the portion of the Sacrament to be reserved for the coming week in the tabernacle and an assistant minister lights the lamp kept burning before the Sacrament. (Any Sacrament

22 *Euchology: a Manual of Prayers of the Holy Orthodox Church*, trans. G. V. Shann, (Kidderminster, 1891), pp. 151-152, 157.

23 *Liturgy*, pp. 41-42.

left unconsumed from the previous week is removed to the sacristy before the celebration of the Sunday Eucharist and consumed there after the celebration. The lamp is extinguished when the sacrament is removed.²⁴) A Communion verse, 'Christ our Passover' begins the rite for the Administration of the Holy Communion. It is followed by 'solemn addresses' to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The Father is addressed in a slightly expanded version of the Anglican Prayer of Humble Access, the Son in the words of the Agnus Dei from the Roman Missal and in a prayer from the corresponding portion of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom²⁵, and the Holy Ghost in another prayer from the preparatory office of the Greek Liturgy.²⁶ The invitation, 'Holy things for Holy persons', precedes the Benediction of Peace found at this point in both Eastern and Western rites. During the feasts of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost if an Apostle is present and on the occasion of an Apostolic Visitation an elaborate trinitarian form (as in the Leofric and other medieval Western missals) of this blessing is given. Holy Communion is given in both kinds to both clergy and laity. This accords with Anglican and Eastern practice but not Roman. Unlike Eastern practice where the Elements are administered together, the Anglican practice of separate administration

²⁴ *Rubrics*, pp. 11, 14.

²⁵ *RL*, I, p. 194.

²⁶ *RL*, I, p. 195.

is followed, although the order of administration (bishops, priests, deacons, other ministers, laity) is justified by an appeal to Canon 18 of the Council of Nice²⁷ and the mode of administration by reference to the well known passage of St. Cyril about making a throne with the right hand above the left to receive the body of Christ.²⁸ The actual words of administration are 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, given for thee' and 'The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, shed for thee' to which the communicant is expected to answer 'Amen'. This form is shorter than that of Rome, Orthodoxy and Anglicanism. While the congregation are communicating, psalms, hymns and music are appropriately offered, and speaking in tongues, in interpretation or in prophesy might occur if the Spirit inspired any of the faithful.²⁹ A general Communion Anthem is sung on most Sundays with eight propers for the usual special occasions marked by the Catholic Apostolic Church. The general anthem is verses 13-16 of Psalm 132; all the others except that for Palm Sunday are similar and appropriate Scripture selections, and the exception is principally scriptural in content. It is not sung during the Communion but afterwards as a completion and summing-up of the act of reception. After the administration all kneel with the celebrant as he offers the Post Communion prayer,

²⁷ *RL*, I, p. 197.

²⁸ *RL*, I, p. 198.

²⁹ *RL*, I, p. 202.

choosing one from three provided. The first is a word for word translation of the Roman Post-Communion for Corpus Christi, the second an original composition and the third option is a slightly modified form of the second Prayer of Thanksgiving from the Book of Common Prayer. Nine additional Post-Communion prayers are appointed for use on stated occasions. The final unique feature of the rite is the singing of the Te Deum which immediately precedes the Benediction in the Anglican form, 'The Peace of God ...'

It would not be incorrect to characterize Cardale's liturgy as a thoroughly revised Anglican rite. To say that Cardale consciously set out to 'improve' the 1662 Communion Service, as Anglo-Catholic priests of his time were doing by interpolating other liturgical material so that their service would approximate some 'correct' ideal, would be to do a grave injustice to his liturgical creativity. Cardale's intention was to produce a worthy liturgy. Choosing to give it a Western shape, his unconscious mind could not help but be influenced by the model he knew best, the Book of Common Prayer. Although the Book of Common Prayer Eucharist he knew from his Anglican days was grievously defective in his opinion, its spiritual and literary ancestor, the Eucharist of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI, is a rite which merits Cardale's full approval. It is 'a holy and catholic service' free of corruptions and full of worthy features.³⁰ A comparison of the

³⁰ John Bate Cardale, *On the Church of England*, (London, 1855), a mimeographed reprint, p. 2.

structural parallels between the Eucharistic rite of the Roman Missal, the First Prayer Book and the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy shows the close relation of the three.³¹

Cardale's admitted admiration for the earliest English rite and his expressed distaste of Romanism and its corruptions, liturgical and otherwise, make the conclusion that an adaptation of the Anglican rather than the Roman rite was the ideal towards which Cardale was working. But he was no slavish imitator. Where the ancient precedent (as in the case of the anthem after the Epistle), liturgical need (as in the case of the opening confession and absolution) or doctrinal requirement (as in the position of the intercession) became apparent, Cardale adjusted the liturgy.

Where prayers and other liturgical items from Orthodoxy (the Syrian Jacobite Prayer of Approach or the Invitation 'Holy things', for example) or Rome (the Orate Fratres and Agnus Dei, for instance) seemed appropriate Cardale used them to fill a need, otherwise original compositions or confluations were provided. Anglicanism, however, provided virtually all the Collects, Epistles and Gospels, the Prayer of Humble Access, Prayer of Thanksgiving and the Benediction as well as the inspiration for the placement of the Te Deum. An Anglican would hear much more that was familiar to him in a Catholic Apostolic service than a Presbyterian, Roman Catholic or an Orthodox churchman.³²

³¹ See Appendix C.

³² See the comparative chart in Appendix C.

It is thus fair to conclude at least that Cardale's Anglican background was the major influence in the basic shape into which his liturgy evolved; his conscious liturgical studies provided the adjustments and enrichments. A study of the stages through which his liturgy evolved³³ indicates that the 1843 rite was a decisive departure from the Presbyterian shape to an Anglican one, though incorporating elements distinctive of Cardale's own thought, especially in the deviations from the Anglican pattern as the introductory penitential rite and the arrangement of the canon. The slight modification of wording in virtually all the material drawn from the Book of Common Prayer, in the Eucharist as well as in other services, can best be accounted for as a means of avoiding the infringement of copyright. As no mention of a prosecution for using such material is made in any of the literature, this technique must have been successful.

Daily and Sunday Offices

Cardale's view of the Daily Offices is unique. All Christians would agree that daily prayer is necessary to the life of the Church. Human nature being what it is, the duty of common daily prayer (as distinct from the Eucharist) soon came to be regarded as the task of religious, for whom the Daily Offices as we understand them were originally developed, and then of the secular clergy as well. Thus

³³ See Appendix B. K. W. Stevenson documents this in minute detail in an extensive appendix to his thesis.

Anglican, Roman and Orthodox clergy are obliged, by their ordination, to recite daily the official prayers of the Church. Apart from cathedral, collegiate and monastic churches this recitation became a private matter, although Thomas Cranmer - by simplifying and rendering the Western Offices into the vernacular and ordering them to be preceded by the tolling of a bell - attempted to encourage lay participation. Subsequent events led Mattins and Evensong to supplant the Eucharist as the central act of divine worship in Anglican parishes on most Sundays of the year. Thus it was the service most familiar to Cardale and the other Apostles of Anglican background. Essential as the Daily Offices are in the Catholic Apostolic Church, they are still subsidiary to and derived from the weekly Eucharist celebrated by the Angel. The difference between the Eucharist and the Offices lies in the wider action which takes place in the Offices, which are not limited to the work of Christ in his own person, but also encompass the work of the Holy Ghost and of the Church as the Body of Christ.

The work of Christ in His own person, presenting His own atoning sacrifice and blood, and as our High Priest, the one and only Mediator, offering intercession, is commemorated and represented, yea, is on earth fulfilled, in the Office of the holy Eucharist. But in the Office for Morning and Evening Prayer, it is not only this work of Christ in His own person which is represented and fulfilled; but, in the first place, the work of the Holy Ghost proceeding from Christ, and acting through the principal members of His body, the ordinances of the Church: and then ... the Lord, as Head of the Body, is seen in the Angel, as head of the particular body,

fulfilling that ministry of intercession
which belongs exclusively to His office
as High Priest. 34

The intercessory character of the Daily Offices is not part of the Western tradition where the services consist principally of psalms with lections, canticles and one or more collects. Any intercessions are really additions to the rite 'after the third collect' rather than integral to it. In the East, the use of litanies interspersed with the psalmody and readings gives intercession an equal emphasis with the sacrifice of praise. Even though most of the litanies are the same as used in the Eucharist, there is no formal or necessary connection between the Sunday celebration and the daily offices. In the Catholic Apostolic Church the essential relationship between Sunday and daily worship is emphasized and strengthened by the Proposition of the Sacrament, mentioned earlier. Although the blessed Sacrament is generally reserved in Roman and Orthodox churches and so is present if offices are being recited there, the presence of the Sacrament solemnly exposed is not a requirement for the proper fulfilment of the rite. The solemn exposition of the Host for purposes of devotion is unknown in the East and only allowed in exceptional circumstances in the Roman Church. For Cardale it is the norm, and he has no doubt about the suitability of this practice.

Remembering that the Lord has given in His
Church the symbols of His Body and Blood,

spiritually and sacramentally present, to be a true and lively memorial of that Sacrifice which He himself pleads before the throne of God as the meritorious foundation of His own intercession; remembering that in the Eucharist we have in the acts of consecration and oblation the memorial of His passion; and that in the prayers made at the Altar with the holy gifts lying thereupon we have the fulfilment upon earth of His work of mediation; and lastly, remembering that in the Morning and Evening Prayer, although we have not the actual sacrifice, for this belongs to the Eucharist alone, yet we have the fulfilment of His mediation continued in the ministry of Intercession; remembering these things and investigating the nature of this ministry of Intercession, and contemplating it in its spiritual truth and reality, we cannot but conclude that the proposition of the holy Sacrament at this time of intercession, morning and evening, is agreeable to the institution of Christ.

35

Any angel or priest may preside at the Eucharist; the usual celebrant on Sundays is the Angel having charge of the congregation, the symbol of the unity of the particular church, assisted by two priests, a deacon and an acolyte. As with the Eucharist, the presence of the Angel is essential to the due celebration of the Offices. As with the Eucharist, if the Angel is not officiating, only a truncated version of the Office, omitting the Intercession, is permitted. At Morning and Evening Prayer four priest-assistants from each of the borders of ministry, symbolizing the work of the Holy Ghost directed to the whole of man, are also required in order to fulfil the order of worship properly. The reason that a priest may celebrate the

Eucharist but cannot offer the daily Intercession is that the Eucharist, being an act of the universal Church, any minister, angel or priest, who has been ordained to share Christ's priestly ministry may offer it; while the daily Intercession, as an act of a particular church, can only be offered by the head of that particular body.

In *Readings upon the Liturgy* Cardale does not mention the daily Offices of the Eastern or Western Churches in detail. In fact he only mentions them to dismiss them as casually and capriciously conceived. His Offices, on the other hand, he defends as having been framed and developed according to strict principles so that the spiritual, intellectual and emotional faculties may be exercised and expressed. "It exhibits, as in a mirror, the progress of the spiritual life in individual Christians: it is adapted to form their spiritual character, and to operate and effect what it represents."³⁶

The structure of the Office morning and evening is the same, although there is a variation in the actual content of individual items. The first part of the service is conducted in the lower choir and commemorates our Lord's own work on earth and the work of the Holy Ghost in making the faithful partakers of its benefits. The chief spiritual actions are humiliation and dedication. An Introit is sung as the ministers enter following which the Angel pronounces the Invocation. The Evangelist reads the Exhortation, the

³⁶ RL, I, p. 370.

Pastor leads the Confession and the Angel pronounces the Absolution and the Peace. The Prophet reads the appointed Lesson; this is followed by the Apostles' Creed led by the Elder. The Prophet leads the singing of the Anthem by the choir, bringing the first part of the service to completion.

In the second part of Morning or Evening Prayer the upper choir becomes the locus of worship, symbolising a concentration on our Lord's work in heaven and of the action of the Holy Ghost in uniting us to our Lord and allowing us to share his work. During the singing of the appointed Psalms the four priests go to their new places and the deacon lights the seven lamps before the altar if this has not been done before the service. As the Psalms conclude the Angel goes to the altar and Proposes the Sacrament, saying the prayer provided secretly. Returning to his place he gives the Mutual Salutation, after which the Pastor says the Supplications, the Evangelist says the Prayers Commemorative, the Elder leads the Prayers Intercessory and the Prophet offers the Thanksgivings. During the Incense Anthem which follows, the Deacon brings up the thurible which the Angel charges and then swings towards the altar allowing the smoke to ascend as a visible sign of The Intercession which he offers after returning the censer to the deacon. The Ministry of the Word, a short sermon or instruction, is followed by a Gospel canticle and the service is concluded with the Benediction pronounced by the Angel. The spiritual actions which take place in this portion of the service are intercession, illumination and

blessing.

In the compilation of these services Cardale has principally used materials from the Book of Common Prayer, (although he recognizes their ultimate Roman origin) generally adapting them slightly as was the case when he borrowed from the same source for his Eucharistic liturgy, and probably for the same reasons: emphasis of particular points or avoidance of copyright difficulties. He makes use of two Greek prayers in the third and fourth Prayers Intercessory at Morning Prayer and in the fourth Prayer Intercessory at Evening Prayer.³⁷ The morning and evening exhortations, the Prayer of Dedication, the Prayer upon placing the Holy Sacrament upon the Altar, and the first Prayer for the Church (these last three identical morning and evening) the morning Prayer for the People and the Angel's Morning and Evening Intercession are all original compositions, but based on biblical premises and infused with scriptural imagery and phraseology.

Morning and Evening Prayer are offered on weekdays at 6 am and 5 pm respectively, while the Forenoon and Afternoon Services (which have strong structural and verbal affinity with Anglican Mattins and Evensong, although canticles are not included) are offered at 9 am and 3 pm. On weekdays only the first two services are obligatory; on Sundays an abbreviated form of the latter two, conflated with portions of Morning and Evening Prayer held at 10 am immediately

³⁷ RL, I, p. 521.

prior to the celebration of the Eucharist, and at 2 pm, are also obligatory. On Wednesdays and Fridays, the Litany is interpolated between the Kyries and the Lord's Prayer at the Forenoon Service. Any angel, priest or deacon may officiate at these services, although the Fourfold Ministry under the presidency of the Angel is preferred.

The obligatory Daily Offices are a far more original contribution of Cardale to liturgical history than the Catholic Apostolic Eucharist, although it is the latter for which he is better known and praised. These Offices are unique in shape, so that they may be vehicles of his understanding of a spiritual dynamic in worship. These Offices are unique in their emphasis on Intercession as an extension of that offered in the community Eucharist on Sunday, rather than being primarily instruments of praise. These Offices are unique because they are obligatory not primarily for the individual but for the worshipping community at large.

Initiation Rites

When Cardale's liturgical studies turned to the initiatory rites of Eastern and Western Christendom, he found them either deficient or redundant as vehicles for expressing and conveying the spiritual realities involved in Christian Initiation.³⁸ Given his 'distributive' theology of initiation, it is not surprising that there are the many services

³⁸ RL, II, p. 363.

connected with the grafting-in of a new member to the Body of Christ, fully nine in number. The first of these is a short office of prayer for a mother just delivered and of dedication of the infant. The restoration of the mother's strength and her sanctification is sought while the child is signed with the sign of the Cross, and put under God's protection that, escaping the corruption of the world he may worthily receive holy Baptism. The material in this service is original in direct contrast to the Churching of Women (which although not strictly an initiatory rite is unavoidably connected with them), all of which is taken from the similar service in the Book of Common Prayer.

The two subsequent rites - the Order for Receiving a Catechumen and the Dedication of Catechumens before Baptism - are intended for use in the initiation of adults who have previously had no real contact with Christianity. They are inspired by the ancient catechetical practice of the Roman Church, although the prayers used are original to the Catholic Apostolic Church. The first takes place near the entrance of the church in token that the individual is not yet a part of the congregation of the faithful and is preferably conducted by a priest-Evangelist; it consists of an exorcism for the deliverance of the candidate from Satan and from every evil and unclean spirit, a solemn signing with the sign of the Cross on the forehead, and a prayer in anticipation of Baptism. The second service takes place at the Angel's appointment, not more than ten days before the day of Baptism and in the context of the

Eucharist. It presumes the candidates have been instructed in the faith and discipline of Christianity and corresponds to the ancient scrutinies in which the candidates were examined and the Creed and Lord's Prayer solemnly delivered to the candidates. Similarly the ancient practice of reading successively from the opening verses of each of the Four Evangelists for the Gospel is followed. The Pastor reads from St. Matthew, the Evangelist from St. Mark, the Prophet from St. Luke and the Elder from St. John. The usual propers are chosen or framed to fit the occasion. The catechumens make their offerings as tokens of their dedication and resolve, but after the Prayer of Offertory, having received the Angel's blessing and in response to the Deacon's dismissal, they withdraw from their places at the back of the church, the service continuing without their presence although prayer is offered for them.

The Baptismal rite is primarily constructed for infants and so includes in its introductory portion the essential elements of the services for receiving and dedicating catechumens, the solemn signing with the Cross and the delivery of the Apostles Creed and Lord's Prayer as well as one of the introductory prayers taken from the Book of Common Prayer service for infant baptism, the first indication of the substantial borrowing from this source which becomes apparent later in the Catholic Apostolic order. This material is naturally omitted in the case of an adult candidate. An exhortation, confession and absolution, and Gospel or Lesson follow, then the Anglican influence

overtakes the rite. There is some rearrangement, expansion or alteration of the Book of Common Prayer material as well as some original interpolation, but the heavily Anglican flavour is impossible to overlook. An exhortation springing from the reading is followed by Interrogatories; then a prayer for admission to the benefits of holy Baptism, short Supplications and a final exorcismal prayer lead to the blessing of the water. After the administration of the sacrament there is a consignation, the recitation of the Our Father and a thanksgiving. The service ends with extempore injunctions to the parents and sponsors regarding their spiritual duties and a blessing.

The Form of Committing to Pastorship is essentially the formal recognition of reconciliation with the Church of those who have wilfully lapsed from the communion of the Church for a lengthy period. Such persons, young or old, are to "be brought to a sense of the guilt they have incurred, and be led to desire the absolution of the Lord."³⁹ After proper preparation, the names of those to be committed to the Angel's pastoral care are delivered to him for his scrutiny, and approval or rejection. It is thus not used in the normal course of initiatory rites, but only where their progression has been interrupted. The service consists of an Address (of which a suitable but not mandatory example is given), a profession of desire and purpose by

³⁹ *Rubrics*, p. 63.

the candidate, and a formal presentation of those involved to the Angel of the congregation. The Benediction before Communion follows unless there is an immediate opportunity for the Apostolic Sealing, when it is pretermitted.

The Benediction of such as, having been fully instructed in the Faith, are about to be received to the Holy Communion, to give it its full title, is the service in the Catholic Apostolic initiatory rites which most corresponds with the Anglican rite of Confirmation. It is similar to the Anglican rite in structure, though it contains no borrowed material. It is different in that it is not a service which admits to holy Communion, but rather to regular holy Communion. It is administered by the Angel or Bishop at the entrance to the choir, the candidates kneeling. The Angel after an exhortation, interrogatories and prayer pronounces a solemn three-fold benediction over the candidates and then lays his hand on each candidate with the words 'Peace be with thee' (a borrowing from Rome), concluding with a final general blessing. Because of the difficulties of obtaining Apostolic Sealing, especially in 'missionary' areas, this service of admission to communion would have often been for all practical purposes the final act in the initiatory process. In Great Britain however, adult converts as well as young people once they had attained the age of twenty could look forward to receiving Sealing, the consummate blessing of the Holy Spirit.

Sometime in the ten days before receiving the Laying on of Apostles' Hands, the candidates made their final

preparation by taking part in the Renewal of Vows and Dedication service. This order, like that of the Dedication of Catechumens which took place earlier in the process, as well as that for the Laying on of Apostles' Hands which will follow, takes place in the context of a Eucharist with congruent propers. The candidates do not withdraw after the Offertory as in the Dedication service, but neither do they receive holy Communion. Before the Benediction of Peace, however, they are presented at the access to the upper choir where they receive, kneeling, a special blessing from the Angel.

As Anglican influence can be seen behind the Benediction before Communion, so in the Laying on of Hands Roman Catholic rite and ceremony can be discerned. After an opening exhortation, confession and absolution and prayer, the Eucharist begins and continues until the conclusion of the Prayers of Commemoration. After kneeling at the foot of the sanctuary, the Apostle with extended hand invokes the seven-fold gifts of the Holy Ghost; he then lays his hands (plural - in contradistinction to Benediction before Communion where the Angel lays his hand - singular - on the candidate) on each person presented and signs them with Chrism on the forehead. After a further prayer the candidates retire to their places. The distribution of holy Communion follows, the candidates receiving first, after the clergy. A comparison of the Roman rite with the actual liturgy of Sealing indicates both a structural as well as a verbal dependence of the Catholic Apostolic rite on the

Roman.

Participation in these rites must have produced a profound effect on the candidate. His growing involvement with the Church was symbolized not only verbally in the appropriate prayers in each rite but also physically in the setting for each service: as a catechumen he was received at the door of the church, for the Benediction before Communion he is presented at the entrance to the choir, for Sealing he kneels at the foot of the sanctuary. As he proceeds through the process he becomes more and more regular in the reception of holy Communion. As the rites progress he receives the ministrations of higher and higher-ranking clergy until at last he receives Sealing from a minister of the first rank, one of the Lord's own Apostles.

Cardale's dissatisfaction with the Anglican, Roman and Greek initiatory rites seems to stem from ceremonial and doctrinal considerations rather than from ritual ones, for he did not hesitate to borrow ideas and materials from the two former rites as we have seen. The nature of the Greek rite where the whole of Christian Initiation from reception of the candidate to first Communion is contained in a single service precluded borrowings or adaptations from that source.

Holy Days and Seasons

The first peculiarity in the Catholic Apostolic liturgy is the absence of the seasons of Epiphany and Lent. Sundays are numbered 'after the Circumcision' and 'in Quadragesima'

instead. This omission is particularly interesting as the feast of Epiphany and the season of Lent receive great prominence throughout the Church, especially in the East. For Cardale, however, "The Epiphany is an event of a prophetic or symbolic character, and rather a subject for meditation in private than for public celebration."⁴⁰ He reaches this conclusion through his fundamentalist's difficulty of relating the biblical chronology with the liturgical year and because of the confusion between 25 December and 6 January as the proper date on which to celebrate the Nativity, both having an equally good claim. Cardale objects to Lent on the grounds that it is an illegitimate development of what was probably only a forty hours fast as mentioned by the Fathers. He also criticizes the forty day fast as a confusion of our Lord's post-baptismal time of temptation with a physical devotional participation in our Lord's Passion. He does not object to fasting as a devotional practice and commends it as a proper exercise for Good Friday. But he does not believe Lent to be a season for perpetual observance.

Christians are bound at all times to keep under the body, and bring it into subjection; to restrain the appetites; to abstain from the fullness of meat; to be temperate and moderate in all things. Whenever also they are called upon to especial and extraordinary acts of humiliation, fasting is necessarily included; and hence it is suitable and becoming that they should observe the solemn period of the Saviour's death with abstinence. ⁴¹

⁴⁰ RL, I, p. 63.

⁴¹ RL, I, p. 55.

The question is not the acceptability of such a fast to God, nor of its propriety and profitability to the Church, but whether the forty days of Lent which were introduced as a legal observance after the time of the Apostles is a legitimate development of the worship of the Church. It was not for Cardale and so the season is not observed.

The subject of fasting should not be passed without a reference to Cardale's abrogation of the Eucharistic Fast. While agreeing that moderate abstinence is a worthwhile form of preparation, the absolute denial of the Greek and Roman rubrics implied, he thought, a mistaken notion of the nature of holiness. As fasting is a natural accompaniment to an early celebration of the Eucharist, so partaking of a moderate breakfast naturally precedes the Celebration at a later hour.

Our natural food, partaken with moderation and received with thankfulness, is not an act dishonouring to God, nor inconsistent with our partaking of that heavenly bread which is to nourish our souls. If it were, our precautions must extend far beyond the observance of a few hours' fast - nay it would render our preparedness a physical impossibility. 42

Self-examination, confession, reconciliation, forgiveness of others and personal cleanliness are rather the forms which preparation for holy Communion ought to take.

The process begun by Cranmer in reducing the plethora of red-letter days observed in the medieval Church was continued by Cardale. Christmas, the Circumcision, the Presen-

tation, Holy Week, the Ascension, the Anniversary of the Separation of the Apostles (14 July), All Angels and All Saints are the only red-letter days observed in the Catholic Apostolic Church. The day of the monthly meeting of the seven churches in London was observed as equal to a red-letter day but the special forms provided, apart from the incidental propers which are used in every church on each occasion, are reserved to the Eucharist celebrated at the actual meeting.

Cardale's liturgical provisions for the Meeting of the Seven Churches, for Good Friday and for the Eve of Pentecost are perhaps his most original contributions to the worship of the Catholic Apostolic Church. For the Meeting of the Seven Churches, in addition to the usual propers for the Eucharist, a series of seven collects, lessons and psalms was interjected after the Gloria. The celebrant was the Apostle in charge of the London churches, assisted by the Evangelist, Pastor and Prophet who attend him. Each London Angel read a lesson (taken from the seven letters to the churches in Revelation 2-3) prefaced by a collect which takes its theme from the central message of the reading to follow, then a Psalm chosen for its suitability to the theme is sung. Apart from the first and seventh which are from the Book of Common Prayer, the collects - prayers would be a more accurate word - were original. This interpolation, wholly biblical in its content, is a characteristic product of Cardale's liturgical Evangelicalism. Without ancient precedents, he turned to the Bible to seek a pattern

of worship to fit an institution and an occasion which are themselves biblically based.

The Good Friday Eucharist is replaced, as in the Roman and Greek rites, by a Liturgy of the Pre-Sanctified and includes in place of the Kyries and Gloria an antiphonal arrangement of the Improperia or Reproaches derived from that in the Roman Missal which itself incorporates ancient Eastern material. Cardale takes issue with the popular title 'Reproaches' and the view that they are sung as an accusation of the Jewish people in view of Christ's last word of absolution, 'Father, forgive them'. He emphasizes its use in self-condemnation by Christians in the light of their own unrighteousness and praises it because of its biblical content as a "very beautiful canticle, which may bear comparison with any anthem or hymn not actually forming a part of sacred Scripture."⁴³ The anthem after the Epistle is taken not from scripture as is usual but from the Greek Matins for the day. In place of the usual commemorations of living and departed, eleven intercessory prayers, inspired by but in a different position from the Roman Solemn Collects on Good Friday, are offered, led alternately by two Elders or other priests. For the Afternoon Service Cardale provided an anthem based on the Improperia but incorporating New rather than Old Testament scriptural material. When read it is every bit as powerful as its model, if not more so and when solemnly sung in church it must have made

⁴³ RL, II, p. 73.

as profound an impact on Good Friday worshippers in the Catholic Apostolic Church as the reading of the Passion or Creeping to the Cross on Roman Catholics, or the procession with the Epitaphion after Vespers on Greek Orthodox. The afternoon anthem is only a compilation, however; the six prayers with accompanying lessons and psalms which follow the Lord's Prayer in the Forenoon Service on Good Friday are original compositions. In the Passion according to St. Matthew, read at this service, can be found the six events which form the successive themes of the devotion: the agony in the garden, the flight of the disciples, the trial and judgement, the mockery and scourging, the crucifixion and our Lord's giving up the ghost. Each of these is glossed by a lesson from one of the Prophets, a prayer or more correctly a meditation on the event being considered, and an appropriate psalm led in succession by one of the six Elders of the Church. The meditations themselves are framed as addresses to our Lord, commencing with reflections on the particular event, comparing his goodness with man's unworthiness as shown in the event considered and concluding with a petition for the gift of the grace which he exemplifies.

The third lesson at the Good Friday Forenoon Service is Isaiah 53:1-7 (the Lord's servant despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief) and is followed by this moving meditation:

Thou didst endure, O Holy One of God,
Eternal Truth, Thou didst patiently endure
to harken to the false witness of wicked
men given against Thyself. Thou didst

forbear to answer again or to threaten:
 Thou didst receive from the judgement of
 Thine enemies the sentence of death; and
 Thou didst hear it in silence, committing
 Thy cause to Him that judgeth righteously,
 that after death Thou mightest obtain Thy
 reward from Him.

Grant unto us, most merciful Saviour,
 to be partakers of the same spirit and
 grace; that we may not seek the honour
 that cometh from man, and count ourselves
 justified by the judgement of men: and
 when they shall unjustly condemn us for
 Thy sake, may we endure with patience.
 And, O Thou merciful God and Judge Eternal,
 before whose judgement-seat we must all
 appear, do Thou save us in that day; reckon
 not against us our iniquities, but blot out
 all our transgressions: for in Thy mercy is
 all our hope, and through Thy sacrifice for
 us, and in Thy righteousness, we can alone
 be justified. 44

Psalm 38 ('Put me not to rebuke, O Lord, in thine anger:
 neither chasten me in thy heavy displeasure'), the tradi-
 tional penitential psalm against anger, completes the
 sequence.

Catholic Apostolic churchmen observe the Eve of Pente-
 cost "as a day of humiliation and sorrow for sin, especially
 in respect of the gifts of the Holy Ghost."⁴⁵ In the Fore-
 noon Service a series of four lessons, prayers and psalms
 is interpolated between the Apostles Creed and the Litany.
 Their themes are the rejecting of Apostles, the loss of
 the Ordinances of the Church, the ceasing of the exercise
 of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, and the Church's increas-
 ing entanglement with the world, and they are led

⁴⁴ *Liturgy*, pp. 232-233.

⁴⁵ *Liturgy*, p. 270.

respectively by the Pastor, the Prophet, the Evangelist and the Elder of the congregation. The prayers are biblically based in both imagery and thought patterns but differ from those of Good Friday in the omission of their meditative aspect. This results in a more didactic tone in this liturgical pericope, and a greatly lessened devotional effect.

The Sanctification of Life

Although, as noted previously, the Catholic Apostolic Church's liturgical observances radiate from Christmas, Easter and Pentecost together with the observance of The Separation, All Angels and All Saints, there is a range of votive propers and commemorations for particular occasions and needs,⁴⁶ national - in times of calamity, sickness, scarcity or war, ecclesiastical - by an Apostle before a Solemn Council, for blessing on the labours of Evangelists, for the consecration of a church, and personal - for the newly married, for ordination and for the departed. In connection with the latter, only a single requiem celebration is permitted; as far as other prayers are concerned, angels are charged "to take heed that they give no room for superstitious observances in respect of the departed."⁴⁷ This is an obvious attempt to avoid the

⁴⁶ See Appendix D - Offices for Proper and Occasional Use; Special Occasional Services.

⁴⁷ *Rubrics*, p. 48.

difficulties connected with the cult of the departed in the Roman Church. Anglicanism is broken with as well, for the Catholic Apostolic liturgy provides no Funeral Office as does the Book of Common Prayer, and supplies propers for a requiem Eucharist which the 1662 Prayer Book lacks.

The range of services centered on ordination⁴⁸ is indicative of the great emphasis which was placed on the ministry and the special regard which was paid to those serving in any capacity from Doorkeeper to Apostle, especially those in the major orders of deacon, presbyter or angel. The teaching of the liturgical provisions is reinforced by that of the Catechism. With its essentially congregational structure and a large ministry with various grades and subtleties, ordinations and appointments to ministerial duties in the Catholic Apostolic Church must have been a much more frequent feature of parochial life than in other denominations. In Anglican, Orthodox and Roman Communion ordinations would take place in Cathedrals three or four times a year; Roman minor orders would be conferred in a seminary. From the provision of a form for Confirming the Orders of Priests, in which orders previously received at episcopal hands are recognized and the individuals taken under the jurisdiction of the Apostles, it is fair to assume that more than a few of the Catholic Apostolic clergy were converts from the Church of England and (in a very small number of cases) from the Church of

⁴⁸ See Appendix D - Special Occasional Services.

Rome.⁴⁹ There were also clergy who had their orders confirmed at the direction of the Apostles but remained within the Communion which originally ordained them. No mention is ever made of clerical converts from Orthodoxy. Unfortunately these matters must remain conjectural because whatever records exist are not open to inspection.

A number of shorter forms complete the provisions of Cardale's prayer book for extending the influence of the Church and its ministrations through the lives of its members. There is provision for the blessing of dwellings, whether houses or single rooms. The Absolution of Penitents is the form used in auricular confession. The blessing of Holy Oil for the sick is provided for, as well as four forms for use in sick visitation, an order for Sick Communion, one for Unction, a Litany for the sick and commendatory prayers. From the hour of birth to the moment of death, formal provision was made in the liturgy of the Catholic Apostolic Church for the ministration of God's Grace to the faithful. To modern Christians they seem prolix and perhaps orotund. But we live in an age where the worship of God is, like a television show, limited to an hour's performance once a week. In the more leisured Victorian age, particularly for those classes attracted to the Catholic Apostolic Church, the repetitive phraseology and lengthy form was what a church service was

⁴⁹ The assumption is confirmed but without documentation of sources in Einar Molland, *Christendom*, (London, Mowbray, 1961), p. 134.

was expected to be. In this respect Cardale did not return to the terse models of ancient Roman collects, but rather emulated the hortatory and expansive mood of Renaissance worship which the Book of Common Prayer exemplifies, its collects translated from the Latin excepted, an embellished form of prayer found also, after their different manners, in both the Orthodox and the Puritan ecclesiastical worlds. This liturgical provision of Cardale sprang not primarily from a desire to imitate similar provisions in other churches such as Rome, or to supply the lack of provisions in Anglicanism, or even in response to the demands of the faithful. It was the result of a strong pastoral instinct formed by the knowledge that only by God's grace could a Christian make his way through this world with any hope of reaching the perfection demanded of him.

CONCLUSION

John Bate Cardale's fundamental religious formation took place at St. John's, Bedford Road, the London headquarters of the Evangelical party, first under Daniel Wilson, later to become Bishop of Calcutta, and then under Baptist Noel who ultimately left the ministry of the Established Church for that of the Baptist Communion. Under the influence of Edward Irving, the celebrated Presbyterian divine, Cardale came into contact with the prophetic-charismatic movement centered on Henry Drummond's Albury Conferences. New associations gave Cardale a new vision: he came to believe that the divisions in the Church and its consequent lack of catholicity could only be overcome by the restoration of the apostolate. Although members of the episcopate, Apostles had as their responsibility not the oversight of individual churches, but of the Church. However one may disagree with this premise, Cardale had no doubt of its truth; it inspired him to establish the Catholic Apostolic Church and to become its chief theologian, liturgist and ruler. Aware as he was of the problems faced by other denominations in wrestling with problems of authority, tradition and comprehensiveness, Cardale had to come to terms with these same problems himself. Although the positions Cardale expresses should properly be considered as 'official', for he was unquestionably the leader of the Catholic Apostolic Church from its inchoate beginnings until his death, they also represent his

personal convictions. There can be little doubt that the views of the eleven other Apostles and of those admitted to the central councils of the Catholic Apostolic Church influenced Cardale as his views evolved, but only he can be considered as finally responsible for them.

Authority, tradition and comprehensiveness are the three principal aspects of catholicity. Cardale's understanding of authority revolved around the restoration of the apostolate and its relationship to his own communion and other churches. There is not doubt where lay the ultimate court of appeal in all matters connected with the life of the Catholic Apostolic Church (and in theory of every Christian denomination). The Apostles are final arbiters, reached through a graded legal process of appeal. If to outsiders the Catholic Apostolic Church seemed tightly, almost inflexibly organized, nevertheless the structures of its authority were absolutely clear and perfectly free from State interference. The place of tradition in Cardale's outlook is best seen in his theological writings. He was an orthodox rather than an original theologian, content to pass on what the Church has received in the Scriptures, interpreted typologically, the Creeds and ancient authors. His theories about the Apostolate and its dependent ministries, the Incarnation and the Proposition of the Sacrament were departures from traditional theology but must not for that reason be considered uncatholic. They were derived, respectively, from an understanding of Scripture generated by a revived prophetic

tradition, as a legacy from Irving, Cardale's spiritual mentor, and as an expression of the deepest meaning of the doctrine of the Real Presence. Without such departures from the mainstream of tradition, Catholic Apostolic theology would have had no distinctive features. At the same time the departures were obviously developments of tradition and the reasons for them are clear. The Catholic Apostolic Liturgy, especially its Eucharistic rite, is Cardale's most famous work. In the Liturgy the themes of authority (in the hierarchic mode in which it is celebrated), tradition (in its use of traditional models) and comprehensiveness combine. The comprehensiveness of the Liturgy is evident in three things. The wide ranging study which lay behind it is reflected in the diverse sources of its component parts. The all-embracing concern for spiritual nurture from the cradle to the grave is manifested in its range of services. The universal appeal of much of the original material is apparent in the responsive chord it strikes in Christians of diverse traditions today.

Cardale's quest for catholicity can be faulted for its creation of yet another in a growing multitude of denominations as well as for its lack of an effective mission to any but a small section of a particular class of English society. In justice to Cardale it must however be said that neither of these was intended by him although they were the practical outcome of his system. Another inevitable result of his system was its eventual extinction with the successive deaths of apostles, other clergy and congregations. From one point of view this was

ultimate defeat for Cardale's views but from another it serves to throw them into clearer relief by providing a terminus as definitely defined as was Cardale's own call and the Separation of the Apostles. Had the Apostles been able to pass on their office and authority to successors, there can be no doubt that the Catholic Apostolic Church would be alive today. At the same time its distinctive witness would have been lost and it would have come to be regarded as simply another of the many peculiar offshoots of Christianity which can be found on the fringe of the ecclesiastical world. Its definite birth and death gave the religious community Cardale shaped and guided a definite character and allowed it to make a distinctive contribution to the nineteenth-century quest for catholicity.

Had Cardale remained within the Church of England and taken Holy Orders, as well he might, his remarkable work in liturgy, theology and patrology would doubtless at best be little known and at least frustrated, misunderstood and persecuted. When Cardale responded to God's call through the voice of prophecy and left the church of his birth, he used his considerable substance and manifold talents to contribute to a new understanding of catholicity.

Cardale's catholicity was not achieved by minimalizing, by aiming for the lowest common denominator so that all points of view could be accommodated and glaring anomalies tolerated, nor was it a maximalizing ultra-

montanism which defined catholicity so narrowly that all save papalists are excluded. Cardale's catholicity was liberal, evangelical and liturgical. It scoured the storehouse of tradition to understand the faith, it showed no fear of denominational barriers in framing its worship and it lived in complete submission to the judgment of Holy Scripture. Now a century old, it appears in many ways antique but its undoubted reality in bringing many into living fellowship with Christ the Saviour has ensured its author's place in the history of modern Christian thought.

APPENDIX AChronological List of Works by John Bate Cardale

including those edited or heavily influenced by him

- 1830 "On the extraordinary manifestations in Port Glasgow"
in *The Morning Watch*
- 1835 *To the Church of God in London, with the Elders and
Deacons* (edited)
- 1836 *Testimony addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury*
[the Second Smaller Testimony]
- 1838 *The Great Testimony*
*Order for the Communion Service and for the Service
of Baptism*
- 1842 *The Liturgy*, Albury edition
- 1843 *Manual of special objects of faith and hope*
The Liturgy, first edition
- 1847 *Teachings to candidates for the Laying on of Apostle's
Hands*
The Liturgy, second edition
- 1848 *The Confession of the Church**
- 1849 *Types of the Law**
- 1850 *Man**
- 1851 *The Holy Eucharist**
*The Daily Offices**
The Liturgy, third edition
- 1852 *Holy Days and Seasons*
Notes on lights and incense
On the sanctuary lamp
General Rubrics, first edition
- 1853 *The Liturgy*, fourth edition
- 1854 *Discourse on the opening of the Gordon Square church*
- 1855 *On the Church of England*
Letter on articles in "The Old Church Porch" (second
edition, 1867)

- 1856 *Paul's doctrine of the Eucharist* (second edition, 1876)
On Miracles
The Liturgy, fifth edition
- 1858 *On the obligation of tithe*
The structure of the Apocalypse
- 1859 *Ministry on All Saints*
- 1860 *On Drummond's passing*
Two discourses on errors
Notes of lectures delivered in London
 (also, a revised and expanded edition)
The Liturgy, sixth edition
- 1862 *General Rubrics*, second edition
- 1863 *Regulations as to building and repairing churches*
The duty of a Christian in the disposal of his income
The Liturgy, seventh edition
- 1864 *The certainty of the final judgement*
- 1865 *The character of our present testimony and work*
On the office of coadjutor
- 1867 *On the real presence*
- 1868 *The Church in this dispensation*
On Holy Water and the removal of the Sacrament
Remarks on the Lambeth conference
On Prophecy
- 1869 *Christ's disciples must suffer tribulation*
The Liturgy, eighth edition
- 1870 *Homily to the Seven Churches*
- 1871 *Fourfold ministry*
Unlawfulness of marriage with a deceased wife's sister
- 1873 *To the churches in London*
The Doctrine of the Incarnation
- 1874 *Baptism**
- 1876 *On War*
*Laying on of hands**
- 1877 *To young men*

- 1878 *General Rubrics*
 Book of Regulations
 *Ordination** (incomplete)
 Readings upon the Liturgy (containing all materials
 above marked *)
- 1880 *The Liturgy*, ninth edition
 Homilies preached at Albury

APPENDIX BAn Evolutionary Chart of the Catholic Apostolic Eucharist

1869	1847	1843	1838
			all extempore
<u>PREPARATORY OFFICE</u>			
Invocation	*	*	
Confession	*	*	
Absolution and Peace	*	*	
Suffrages, Prayer of Approach	*		
Six-fold Kyrie	*		
Gloria in Excelsis	*		
Hallelujah			
Collect	*	*	
Epistle	*	*	
Anthem	*		
Gospel	*	*	
Benediction of Homilist			
Homily	*		
Creed	*	*	
Offertory Sentences	*	*	
Offertory Prayer	*	*	
<u>EUCCHARISTIC OFFICE</u>			
<u>OBLATION OF THE HOLY GIFTS</u>			
Anthem	*	*	Silent presentation of elements
Orate Fratres	*	*	Confession and Absolution
Prayer of Oblation	*	*	Lord's Prayer
			Prayer for Acceptance
<u>SOLEMN THANKSGIVING</u>			
Sursum Corda, Preface	*	*	Intercession and Com-
Sanctus			memoration
<u>CONSECRATION</u>			
Lord's Prayer	*	*	Consecration of Bread (and Sanctus)
			Distribution of the Bread
Consecration Prayers	*	*	Consecration of Wine (and Gloria in Excelsis)
			Distribution of the Wine
<u>OBLATION AFTER CONSECRATION</u>			
Prayer of Oblation	*	*	
Incense Anthem			
Commemoration of the Living	*	*	
Commemoration of the Departed	*	*	
Concluding Prayer	*	*	

1869

1847 1843

1838

ADMINISTRATION OF HOLY COMMUNION

Christ our Passover	*		
Communion Devotions (5 - including Humble Access and Agnus Dei)	*		
Pax	*		
Distribution	*	*	
Communion Anthem	*		
Post Communion	*		
Te Deum	*	*	Psalm
Blessing	*	(*)	Blessing

APPENDIX C

A Comparative Chart of Eucharistic Rites

WESTMINSTER DIRECTORY

PUBLIC WORSHIP

[Call to worship

Prayer of Approach

Old Testament Chapter
New Testament Chapter
Prayer of Confession and
Intercession
Sermon
Prayer]

SACRAMENT OF THE LORD'S
SUPPER

Exhortation, Warning and
Invitation
Elements set on Table

Words of Institution
Blessing of Bread and Wine

Distribution
Exhortation
Thanksgiving

(all this service is
extempore)

ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

LITURGY OF CATECHUMENS

Blessing
Litany of Peace
Little Litany
Litany of Peace
LITTLE ENTRANCE
Introit
Troparion and Kontakion,
Trisagion
Anthem
Epistle
Gospel

Great Litany
Litany for Catechumens

LITURGY OF THE FAITHFUL

Litany of Peace
GREAT ENTRANCE
Cherubic Hymn
Elements placed on Altar
Litany of Supplication
Nicene Creed

CONSECRATION

The Grace
Sursum Corda, Preface,
Sanctus
Consecration Prayers
Litany of Supplication
Lord's Prayer
Communion Hymn

HOLY COMMUNION

Communion Devotions

Distribution
Communion Anthems
Post Communion
Psalm 34
Blessing

1549 BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

ANTE COMMUNION

Lord's Prayer
Collect for Purity
Introit

Nine-fold Kyrie
Gloria in Excelsis
Collects

Epistle

Gospel
Nicene Creed
Sermon
Offertory Sentences

THE COMMUNION

Elements placed on Altar

Sursum Corda, Preface,
Sanctus

Prayer for the Whole State
of Christ's Church including
Intercession, Commemoration,
Consecration and Oblation

Lord's Prayer

Pax

Communion Devotions including
Confession, Absolution,
Comfortable Words and Prayer
of Humble Access

Agnus Dei

Distribution
Communion Verse
Post Communion

Blessing

1570 MISSALE ROMANUM

MASS OF THE CATECHUMENS

Introit
Confession
Absolution

Nine-fold Kyrie
Gloria in Excelsis
Collects

Epistle
Gradual or Tract

Gospel
Sermon
Nicene Creed

MASS OF THE FAITHFUL

Elements placed on Altar
Offertory Sentence
Orate Fratres
Secret (Prayer over the Gifts)

PREFACE TO THE CANON
Sursum Corda, Preface,
Sanctus

CANON OF THE MASS
Intercession and Commemoration
Consecration
Oblation, Intercession and
Commemoration
Lord's Prayer and Embolism
Pax

Agnus Dei
Communion Devotions
(Confession and Absolution)
Distribution
Communion Verse
Post Communions
Dismissal
Blessing
Last Gospel

CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC 1869

1662 BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER

PREPARATORY OFFICE

Invocation
 Confession
 Absolution and Peace
 Prayer of Approach
 Six-fold Kyrie
 Gloria in Excelsis
 Collect(s)

Epistle
 Anthem
 Gospel

Homily
 Nicene Creed
 Offertory Sentences
 Offertory Prayer

EUCCHARISTIC OFFICE

OBLATION OF THE HOLY GIFTS
 Elements placed on Altar
 Anthem
 Orate Fratres
 Prayer of Oblation
 SOLEMN THANKSGIVING
 Sursum Corda, Preface,
 Sanctus
 CONSECRATION
 Lord's Prayer
 Consecration Prayers
 OBLATION AFTER CONSECRATION
 Prayer of Oblation
 Incense Anthem
 Commemoration of the Living
 Commemoration of the Departed
 Concluding Prayer
 ADMINISTRATION OF HOLY
 COMMUNION
 Christ our Passover
 Communion Devotions
 Pax
 Distribution
 Communion Anthem
 Post Communion
 Te Deum
 Blessing

ANTE COMMUNION

Lord's Prayer
 Collect for Purity

Ten Commandments

Collects

Epistle

Gospel

Nicene Creed
 Sermon
 Offertory Sentences

THE COMMUNION

Elements placed on holy Table
 Prayer for the Whole State of
 Christ's Church - inter-
 session only
 Communion Devotions including
 Confession, Absolution and
 Comfortable Words
 Sursum Corda, Preface,
 Sanctus
 Prayer of Humble Access
 Prayer of Consecration

Distribution
 Lord's Prayer
 Post Communion
 Gloria
 Blessing

APPENDIX D

Contents of *The Liturgy and Other Divine Offices of the*
Church 1869

Offices for Daily or Weekly Use

The Celebration of the Holy Eucharist
 The Administration of the Communion on the Afternoon of the
 Lord's Day
 The Shorter Service for the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist
 The Creed of St. Athanasius
 The Office for Morning Prayer
 The Administration of the Communion after Morning Prayer
 The Office for Evening Prayer
 The Forenoon Service
 The Form of Removing the Holy Sacrament
 The Benediction of Holy Water
 The Litany
 The Afternoon Service
 The Shorter Morning Service
 The Shorter Evening Service
 Additional Prayers, Etc.
 Occasional Prayers, Thanksgivings, Etc.

Offices for Proper and Occasional Use

Proper Services for Holy Days and Seasons:-

In Advent
 Christmas Eve
 Christmas Day
 Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday before Easter
 Thursday before Easter
 Good Friday
 Easter Eve
 Easter Day
 Ascension Day
 The Eve of Pentecost
 The Day of Pentecost
 The Form for Consecrating Chrism
 The Anniversary of the Separation of Apostles
 All Angels
 All Saints
 The Prayers for the Three Seasons

The Assembly of the Seven Churches

General Forms to be used in Celebrating the Holy Eucharist:-

By an Apostle before a Solemn Council
 By an Apostle for a Tribe
 By an Apostle before a Visitation
 For a Particular Church
 For Unity
 For blessing on the Labours of Evangelists

For increasing the Number of Evangelists
 In commemorating a Sick Person
 In commemorating a Deceased Person
 For a Young Person
 For a Woman after Childbirth
 A Form of Prayer to be used on Days of Humiliation
 Forms for Celebrating the Eucharist:-
 In Time of Calamity
 In Time of Sickness
 In Time of Scarcity
 In Time of War
 A Form of Thanksgiving on Days of Rejoicing
 Forms for celebrating the Eucharist on the Restoration of
 Peace, Etc.

Special Occasional Services

The Receiving a Catechumen
 The Dedication of Catechumens
 Holy Baptism
 The Order for Receiving any who have been privately Baptized
 The Churching of Women
 The Committing to Pastorsip
 The Benediction of New Communicants
 The Renewal of Vows
 The Laying on of Apostles' Hands
 The Solemnization of Marriage
 The Benediction of Newly-married Persons
 Benediction for Works of Charity
 Dedication for the Holy Ministry
 The Benediction of a Doorkeeper
 The Benediction of Singers
 The Admission of Under-Deacon
 The Benediction of a Deaconess
 The Order for Admitting to the Office of Deacon
 The Office for Blessing Deacons
 The Receiving One of the Seven Deacons of a Church
 The Receiving a Deacon
 The Order for Ordaining Priests
 The Form for Confirming the Orders of Priests
 Receiving One of the Six Elders of a Church
 Receiving a Priest
 The Receiving a Priest for Temporary Service
 The Presentation for the Episcopate
 A Prayer on behalf of a called Angel
 The Office for the Consecration of an Angel
 The Order of Inducting an Angel
 The Order of Sending forth an Angel-Evangelist
 Forms of Benediction upon the Sending forth of Ministers
 The Laying the First Stone of a Church
 The Consecration of Churches
 The Consecration of the Altar, Etc.
 The Consecration of a Tablet-Altar
 The Forms for Benediction of Furniture, Vessels, and
 Vestments

Services for Private Occasions

The Benediction of a House
The Benediction of a Chamber
The Benediction of a Ship
The Absolution of Penitents
Prayer for a Woman after Childbirth, and Dedication of Infant
Private Baptism
The Administration of the Communion to the Sick
The Benediction of Holy Oil
The Order for Anointing the Sick
A Litany in the Visitation of the Sick
Commendation of a Departing Soul
Prayers on Passing an Altar
The Catechism

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